

# Herald Tribune

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Today's  
Special Report  
TELECOMMUNICATIONS  
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Gravediggers in Sarajevo after a funeral ceremony for a slain Bosnia government soldier on Monday. The city remained generally calm after weekend sniping.

## Bosnia Fighting Rages As Allies Point Fingers Recrimination Kohl Laments Has Corroded Western Unity 'A Disgrace For Europe'

By Joseph Fitchett  
Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — What makes the crisis over Bosnia different from past splits in the North Atlantic alliance is that no one seems able to call a halt to the blame-passing between the United States and Europe.

They are again laying the blame at each other's doorsteps for the latest failure in Bosnia, a ritual that has marked every phase in the breakup of former Yugoslavia.

Even if a political pirouette saves the allies from an all-out diplomatic confrontation, it will be hard to undo the corrosive effect of more than three years of buck-passing.

Almost every ostensible Western partnership has dissolved into recrimination at one time or another: the United Nations and NATO; the United States and Europe; Germany, Britain and France. Any one seems to be a ripe target for blame except the Serbs, who have never lost sight of their goal of conquest.

Allied governments often clasped bitterly during the Cold War, sometimes over urgent issues such as nuclear weapons or the 1956 Suez crisis. Invariably, however, the tensions would be resolved or papered over. In bleak contrast, disarray this time has deepened Western paralysis and eroded NATO's foundations.

This basic fracture pits the United States — idealistically stressing resistance to Serbian aggression but declining to provide ground forces — against Western Europe, whose cynical-sounding policy of seeking a settlement on almost any terms never succeeded.

The most flagrant episode occurred in May 1993, when the new Clinton administration sent Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher to Europe with a proposal to lift the arms embargo on Bosnian government forces while protecting them with allied air strikes.

The humiliating failure of his mission was attributed by Washington to the allies' inability to take strong action, even in dealing with a problem that European governments had sought to handle themselves.

Britain and France accused the Clinton administration of promoting policies designed to placate U.S. hard-liners rather than foster negotiations.

In the current version, U.S. congressmen accuse the United Nations of refusing to use NATO airpower more aggressively. But Europeans reply that U.S. encouragement of the Bosnian Muslims can be held responsible for the latest Serbian conquest, insinuating that Washington is happy to court Arab regimes by promoting Muslim ambitions in Europe.

Similarly, Washington and Europe have traded accusations over every partition plan for Bosnia advanced by their media.

Washington finally came around to a map, European officials maintain, only

BRUSSELS — With the UN-designated "safe haven" of Bihać at the mercy of Serbian forces, European Union ministers struggled Monday to save a discredited policy in the former Yugoslavia from complete collapse.

The bickering and finger-pointing among the allies was extraordinary. Defense Secretary Malcolm Rifkind of Britain said that U.S. congressional critics of Britain's Bosnia policy were "behaving disgracefully."

Of events in the besieged Bosnian town of Bihać, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany said, "What is happening there is a disgrace for a civilized Europe." His Christian Democratic Union called for the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia's government to allow it to defend itself.

Far from the squabbling and band-wringing about what to do, Serbian and Bosnian government troops fought for a sixth day around Bihać. "It's impossible to move the dead or wounded," said Peter Kessler, a refugee official. "They are left lying where they fell." (Page 2)

Three NATO air strikes on Serbian positions last week near Bihać were ineffective, and repeated international appeals for a cease-fire have been ignored.

Critics in the United States have held the United Nations partly responsible for the deteriorating situation in Bosnia for blocking air strikes against Serbian positions. The UN undersecretary-general, Kofi Annan, said Monday: "I believe the UN is being made a scapegoat, and, of course, we do have a scapegoat function."

But he added, in an apparent reference to the United States, that it was "absolutely unfair when member states do not want to take the risk, when they do not want to commit the resources but blame the UN for failure to act."

There was even talk from Russia and Ukraine of withdrawing their peacekeeping troops. "If our contingent there is treated with disrespect, we simply should no longer send our soldiers," President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine said in Kiev.

Mr. Kuchma strongly backed Russia's position that an increased role for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would endanger the lives of United Nations peacekeepers.

Defense Minister Pavel S. Grachev of Russia said Moscow may consider withdrawing its peacekeepers from the former Yugoslavia.

In their meeting here, EU foreign ministers agreed to step up diplomatic efforts to find a negotiated settlement. But they failed to come up with any new initiatives.

"The choice for this week is do we just sit back and see a new war," Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd of Britain said as he arrived for the meeting. "Or do we build up pressure again for a negotiated settlement?"

Mr. Hurd said it was a "cruel illusion" to believe heavy NATO air strikes, previously advocated by Washington, could stop the war. Only a huge allied army could do that.

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## EU Prospects Look Poor as Norwegians Leave Polls

OSLO — Norwegians voted to reject membership in the European Union in a referendum Monday, according to two exit polls broadcast on television moments after polls closed.

One poll, on the private TV2 channel, forecast a wafer-thin majority of 50.2 to 49.8 percent against membership, while an exit poll broadcast on state NRK television forecast a more solid majority against the EU of 52.6 percent to 47.4 percent.

John Dorton of the New York Times reported from Oslo:

The vote came after a long, hard-fought campaign on an issue that has obsessed Norway for years, almost since 1972, when 53.5 percent of the voters rejected membership in what was then the European Economic Community.

In that year, Norway became the only European country to say "no" definitively to joining the club, which is intended to knock down the continent's frontiers.

Throughout the past months polls had placed the "no" vote well ahead of the "yes" vote, but the margin narrowed after Sweden's approval of its referendum Nov. 13. Although Norwegians shrink from the thought of taking cues from their neighbor,

the prospect of being the odd man out on the Scandinavian peninsula was daunting.

The signs of ambivalence continued until, and beyond, the last moment. "I voted 'no' but I'm not sure," said one young man, Stein Inge Jernes. "I regret it already. But if I had voted 'yes' I would be regretting that, too."

On the "no" side, the basic argument was that Norway, blessed with bountiful fishing stocks and Europe's largest oil and gas reserves, is strong enough to go it alone. Why pay extra money to subscribe to a union whose standards are lower in everything from cradle-to-grave welfare support to environmental purity, ran the refrain.

The center of the opposition was the coastal areas in the north and the countryside in the west. Fishermen worried about throwing open the rich territorial waters to EU countries like Spain and Portugal, and farmers were aghast at the thought of a reduction in subsidies for produce, among the highest in the world.

On the "yes" side, the contention was that oil and gas would not last forever and that Norway must prepare for the future

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## Clinton Makes 11th-Hour Appeal for GATT Approval

WASHINGTON — With crucial votes coming this week, President Bill Clinton appealed Monday for passage of the world trade agreement, which he said "bulldozes differences of party, philosophy and ideology."

"It is not a Republican agreement or a Democratic one," Mr. Clinton said at a White House rally on the eve of the first congressional vote on the GATT accord. "It is an American agreement designed to benefit all the American people in every region of our country and from every walk of life."

Imploping lawmakers to approve the pact, Mr. Clinton said, "We have to do it now. We can't wait until next year."

To underscore bipartisan support for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, officials from every administration since President Eisenhower attended the White House ceremony. A pro-GATT letter signed by Presidents Ford, Carter and Bush was released.

The accord would cut worldwide tariffs by a third and lower global barriers to the sale of intellectual property and services.

James A. Baker 3d, a Republican and a former treasury secretary and secretary of state, said those who had opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement, particularly Ross Perot, were wrong again about GATT.

"The misguided and misinformed predicted a vast sucking sound as American jobs went south," Mr. Baker said. "Today, the only sound to be heard is the powerful wind of economic freedom raising prosperity on both sides of the border."

Mr. Clinton also took a jab at GATT foes, saying they are playing on people's fears to defeat a measure that will help Americans in the long run.

Earlier, the chief U.S. trade representative, Mickey Kantor, predicted passage, saying the votes this week in the House and Senate would be the first test of whether Republicans and Democrats can work together.

"We feel very good today that we can accomplish the ratification this week," he said.

Supporters all along have said the Senate, where a vote is expected Thursday, represents the more difficult hurdle.

Supporters likely will need 60 of 100 votes in the Senate to suspend rules that

See GATT, Page 6

## The Makings of a Palestinian 'Martyr'

### From West Bank Village, to Israeli Jails, to a Bus in Tel Aviv

By Barton Gellman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

KALKILYA, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — For many years the same day in step, two cousins born the same day in this smoldering Palestinian town. Israel's army had arrived just ahead of them. It was the summer of 1967, the summer that changed everything in the West Bank.

They hardened together in the intifada, the uprising against Israeli occupation. Wajih Abatli and Salah Souwi were fellow combatants in each skirmish of stones, fellow prisoners in Israel's harsh detention cells. Both, as people put it here, "became organized" in the hard-core resistance, subjecting themselves to the command of men who did not hesitate to kill.

But as the two grew older, they parted ways. Mr. Abatli married, had children and began looking for ways to feed them. He often sneaked into Israel, not to slay his

enemies but to build their houses in illegal construction jobs. Mr. Souwi, the son of Mr. Abatli's mother's brother, left his home and neighborhood and disappeared into an underworld.

Mr. Souwi surfaced on Oct. 19 in Tel Aviv's Dizengoff Square. He had already recorded a videotape, calling himself a "living martyr" and alluding to the violence to come. Now he boarded a rush-hour bus and touched off a massive explosion. Twenty-two people died with him.

What led one man to make such a choice, and another to turn away? That question has preoccupied Israel, and especially its Shin Bet security service, in the weeks since the Dizengoff bombing.

One day last week, in the early morning hours, Israeli soldiers came with bulldozers and knocked down the two-room house where Mr. Souwi's parents lived with their nine surviving children. The idea, the army

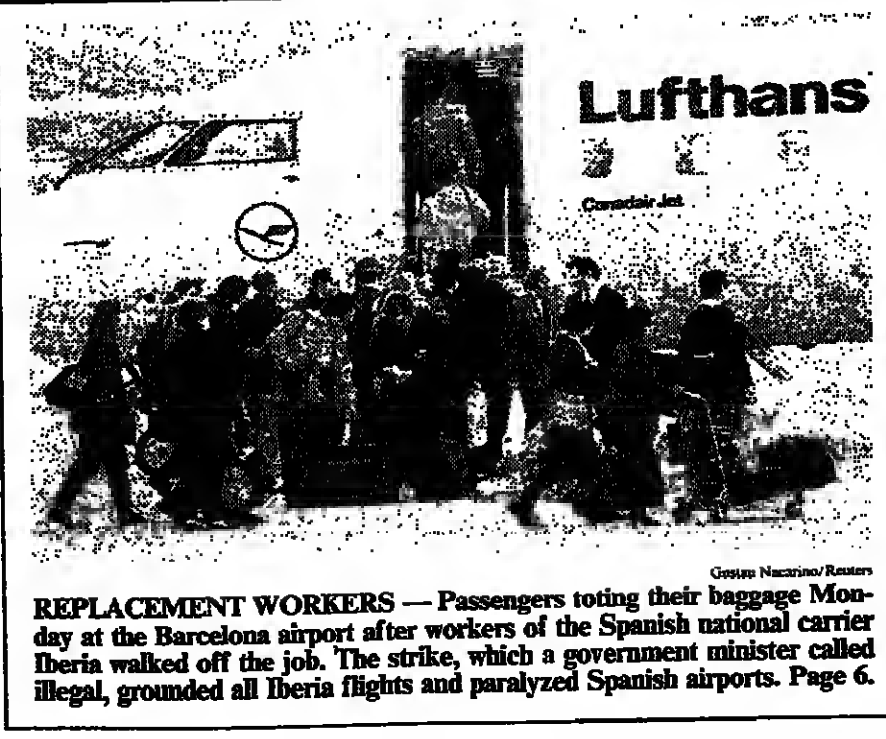
said, was to deter future bombers. But even here, few claim to grasp why the bombers do what they do.

Shin Bet's attempt at a "martyr's profile," according to an official who has been briefed on it, cites obvious factors. "They're young and zealous and probably had some member of the family killed" by Israeli forces, the official said. "But what brings them to the next step, to deciding to become a suicide attacker? Who knows?"

Around the corner from Mr. Souwi's old home, in Kalkilya's crumbling Najar neighborhood, Mr. Abatli spent two hours recently trying to explain.

"What do you expect from Salah?" he demanded finally, grown weary with the tale. "His brother was killed, he was detained five times, he was tortured, he had nothing to do with his life. What do you

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REPLACEMENT WORKERS — Passengers toting their baggage Monday at the Barcelona airport after workers of the Spanish national carrier Iberia walked off the job. The strike, which a government minister called illegal, grounded all Iberia flights and paralyzed Spanish airports. Page 6.

## Kiosk Serial Killer Slain In a U.S. Prison

Jeffrey Dahmer, the Milwaukee man who confessed to murdering 17 men and boys and to cannibalizing some of them, was killed Monday in prison.

A fellow inmate was taken into custody, said a state corrections official. A bloody broom handle was found at the scene, but it was not known if it was used to kill Mr. Dahmer. A corrections department spokesman said Mr. Dahmer, 34, had "very severe, extensive head injuries." (Page 6)

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Dow Jones		Trib Index	
Up 31.29 5739.56 0.41%		Up 0.41% 111.48 0.41%	
The Dollar		Mon. 94P.34	previous close
New York	1.5697		1.5692
DM	1.5697		1.5693
Pound	98.675		98.775
Yen	5.3785		5.3541
FF			

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Denmark...\$14.00 D.Kr.	Norway...\$15.00 N.Kr.
Finland...\$11.00 F.Mk.	Oman...\$1.00 Rials
Gibraltar...\$0.85	Qatar...\$1.00 Rials
Great Britain...\$9.00	Rep. Ireland...\$1.00 R.
India...\$1.00	Saudi Arabia...\$9.00 R.
Japan...\$1.00	South Africa...\$1.00 R.
Kuwait...\$5.00	U.A.E...\$5.00 Dirh
	U.S. Mil. (Eur.) \$1.10
	Zimbabwe...\$20.00

## A New Generation Swells the U.S. Work Force: Women Over 50

By Louis Uchitelle  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — They were members of the last generation to come of age before the women's movement took hold in the 1960s. Marrying early and in huge numbers, they had expected not to work. But their lives have played out much differently.

Women now in their 50s have piled into the U.S. work force in big numbers in the last decade and a half. Today the college-educated among them are as likely to hold jobs as any group of younger women.

The women's movement made work a widely accepted alternative to a life centered on the home. But in many cases, the move into the workplace was not the low-pressure choice that these women would have preferred.

While financial pressures have always pushed some women into the labor force, many college-educated women now in their 50s took jobs for economic reasons largely new to their generation — after divorce left them without enough income, or because a husband could no longer support the family alone.

Whatever the reasons, many women in their 50s who hold jobs say the change has been strikingly beneficial.

About 80 percent of the nearly 3 million American women between the ages of 50 and 60 who graduated from college are now in the work force, according to estimates based on new data collected by the Labor Department, which has just begun to break down employment regularly by age and education.

Nearly three-quarters of them hold full-time jobs. Both figures roughly match those of any group of younger college-educated women.

Employment among all women in their 50s, educated or not, also has risen steeply in the past decade, to 8.1 million women, or 65 percent of this age group, up from 54 percent in 1984. College-educated women accounted for most of the gain, Labor Department officials said.

At the same time, while the number of women in their 50s in the labor force has risen sharply, the participation rate for men in their 50s has fallen over the past decade by more than 2 percentage points, to about 83 percent. The rate for the college-educated among them is higher.

This age group also was the first to experience a high divorce rate — more than 30 percent of all marriages — and many divorced women had to work to support themselves.

Most women now in their 50s took the jobs that men let them have — in personnel, public relations, education, real estate, social services, health care, government and not-for-profit organizations.

They have been helped by the fact that the economy in recent years has created these types of jobs more frequently than other types, in the view of Heidi Hartman, director of the Institute for Women's Policy Research in Washington.

Affirmative-action programs begun in the late 1960s also helped these women. But many college-educated women in their 50s attributed their gains in large part to a flexibility that was forced on them. They had trained for the work force, they said, through years of juggling children, households, graduate school and the occasional work that in many cases

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# Underlying Unity of Serbs Is Demonstrated in Bihac Battle

## Units of Croatia and Bosnia In Attack on Muslim Haven

By Roger Cohen  
New York Times Service

ZAGREB, Croatia — The conflict over the Muslim enclave of Bihac has shown the enduring unity of Serbian purpose in establishing a single, contiguous homeland stretching from Belgrade through western Bosnia to the southern heartland of Croatia.

The battle for this small town in northwestern Bosnia has also shown that despite endless reser-

cept an international peace plan.

Milan Martić, a former provincial policeman who is the leader of the Krajina Serbs, visited the enclave at the back of the Bosnian front line on Wednesday. There is no evidence that Serbia's president tried to hold him back from the Bihac assault.

Moreover, Western military analysts said that among the impressive array of Serbian surface-to-air missile systems that surround the Bihac pocket on Croatian territory, there is a modernized SAM-2 system whose sophistication suggests that it was probably brought there recently from Belgrade.

The buildup of Serbian weaponry reflects the importance of control of the Bihac enclave, or at least the disabling of Muslim forces there, to the dream of a Greater Serbia.

A vital but long unusable railroad line connecting Knin to Banja Luka and Belgrade runs through Bihac. If the Bosnian government does not control Bihac, western Serbian lands are consolidated.

Beyond this long-term strategic consideration, it seems clear that the Bihac assault has served Mr. Milosevic's immediate purposes.

He has been under increasing U.S. pressure to accept a settlement with Croatia that would oblige him to hand back the oil-rich and fertile Serb-occupied part of Croatia around the town of Vukovar.

This proposed Croatian settlement, conceived by Washington, is attainable even as the war continues, has been obliterated by the Bihac attack, which has infuriated Croatia.

Mr. Milosevic, who would do almost anything rather than give back the Vukovar area, bordering the Danube, has thus gained an important political respite.

He has also watched a startling demonstration of the powerlessness of the United Nations to control the conflict. It seems clear that the balance of forces on the ground will continue to dictate its course.

It also appears that an international peace plan, offering 51 percent of Bosnia to the Muslim-Croatian federation and 49 percent to the Serbs, may be dead because the Serbs have shown again — this time in Bihac — that they can dictate policy through force.

Under the truce that ended the Croatian war in late 1991, the Croatian Serbs were supposed to be disarmed by the United Nations. The meager extent of that disarmament is now as apparent as the absurdity of the UN designation of a town like Bihac as a "safe area," a place that the United Nations is technically bound to protect.

If the unity of Serbian goals has been demonstrated by the Bihac crisis, so, too, has the weakness and disorientation of the Bosnian government.



Using electric cables and what is left of a destroyed house, some Sarajevo children found a way to amuse themselves.

## UN Seeks Cease-Fire at Battered Enclave

The Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Heavy artillery, mortar and machine-gun fire battered the Bihac area of northwest Bosnia, UN officials said Monday.

The fighting raged as the United Nations waited for a response from the Bosnian Serbs to a call for a cease-fire.

Lieutenant Colonel Jan-Dirk von Merveldt, a UN military spokesman, reported fighting east and northeast of the UN-declared "safe area" that covers Bihac. He described the situation as tense and unstable.

"Hellish fights are going on

in the outskirts, while the center of town is shaking from artillery detonations and infantry fighting," Hamdija Kabiljagic, the mayor of the Bihac region, said over a ham radio link to reporters in Sarajevo.

Shelling also was reported to the north and around the government-held town of Velika Kladusa, which has been raked by artillery, tank and small-arms fire for two weeks.

Peter Kessler, a UN relief official in Zagreb, Croatia, said water had been cut off entirely to Velika Kladusa and partially to Bihac.

Colonel von Merveldt, citing

an overnight field report, said two "stray" rounds fell on the grounds of Bihac's main hospital, where 2,000 patients are jammed into an 800-bed facility. No injuries were reported.

Viktor Andrejev, a UN civil affairs officer from Russia, was reported seeking approval by the Bosnian Serbs of a proposed cease-fire in the Bihac area.

While there was no official response from Pale, the Bosnian Serb stronghold east of Sarajevo, the official Bosnian Serb press agency indicated that the plan was unacceptable for the Serbs because they are seeking "an agreement on the

end of the war throughout" Bosnia, with no time limitations.

The Bosnian government late last week proposed a three-month cease-fire, but the Serbs rejected it because they suspect that the weakened Bosnian government would use the time to rally its forces for a fresh offensive after winter ends.

Meanwhile, Belgrade media quoted an unnamed Bosnian Serb spokesman as saying that the detention of more than 400 UN troops was a "mistake" and that they would be freed. UN aides could not confirm when this would take place.

## EU Patches Over Split on Admitting East

By Tom Buerkle  
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — European Union foreign ministers agreed Monday on a strategy for bringing Eastern European countries into the Union, but only after fudging wide differences on trade, aid and farm policies that threatened to split the community.

The German-forged compromise looked very likely to ensure a smooth summit meeting for Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Essen next week, when EU leaders are supposed to formally endorse the plan for expanding to the East.

But the debate Monday revealed the battle lines already forming within the Union. Britain and the Netherlands are pushing hard for greater concessions to the East, while France, Spain and Portugal are pressing hard on the brakes.

"It was a very disjointed discussion," an EU official said of the ministers' talks here. "It wasn't at all clear they were talking about the same thing."

The most critical part of the discussions

concerned agriculture. Farm subsidies make up half the Union's annual budget of 66 billion European currency units (\$81 billion), and extending them to the millions of small farmers in Poland, Hungary and other Eastern European countries would require a huge increase in spending.

Britain's foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, argued that the Union should commit itself now to rethinking its farm subsidies to facilitate the entry of the Eastern Europeans.

"That's a discussion that certainly we cannot avoid," he said.

Mr. Hurd was strongly supported by Hans van Mierlo, the Dutch minister, who said the Union also would have to consider trimming internal development aid to poor regions to make way for the East.

But southern EU countries, led by France and Spain, the biggest beneficiaries of existing farm spending, argued successfully against making any commitments on agricultural reform now. Instead, the ministers called on the EU's Executive Commis-

sion to study alternative farm strategies and report back in a year's time.

"It's too early to say more," a German official said. This official said Bonn was determined to avoid a clash over the issue at the Essen summit meeting Dec. 9 and 10.

The ministers put off a decision on trade concessions in favor of waiting for a commission proposal, expected Wednesday, that would amend rules of origin to allow more imports from the East. A commission source said the proposal would be "modest" because of concerns by Portugal that a more generous opening would hurt its textile industry.

Similarly, the ministers put off a tough debate over balancing EU aid to the East with efforts for the Mediterranean region.

They rejected a commission plan to set spending through the end of the decade, instead agreeing to bolster aid about 10 percent next year to 1.1 billion Ecu for the East and 492 million Ecu for North Africa and the Middle East.

Mr. Roldán's escape undoubtedly in mind, a court this month set a 12 billion-peseta (\$95 million) bail for the jet-set former banker Mario Conde after indicting him for fraud and embezzlement. The government also ordered a round-the-clock police watch on Mr. Conde.

He left behind a \$4.8 billion hole at Banesto, one of Spain's biggest private banks, which he ran for seven years before being deposed by the Bank of Spain 11 months ago. Mr. Conde, 46, once seen as a potential rival to Mr. González, blamed his fall on a political conspiracy.

Few of the mighty have fallen as far and as fast as the Catalan financier Javier de la Rosa Martí, who last month exchanged his luxury Barcelona apartment for a tiny jail cell, which he shares with two other prisoners.

The public prosecutor has accused him of falsifying commercial documents and embezzling the savings of 9,000 small investors, valued at 30 billion pesetas, in the Grand Tibidabo company, part of the financier's maze-like Quail Foundation.

It is a mystery how Mr. de la Rosa

## Spain has transformed itself in 20 years from a rightist dictatorship to a democracy with a feisty press that makes venality seem more apparent.

was able to persuade so many people to trust their cash with him, given the family history — his father fled the country in 1979 after being indicted on a property scam — and his own association with a string of spectacular business failures and bankruptcies. The Kuwait Investment Office lost some 500 billion pesetas in the collapse of Mr. de la Rosa's Grupo

Torras and other disastrous investments.

A major difference between Spain and Italy (and to a lesser extent France) is the absence of a crusading anti-corruption judiciary with any sense of urgency. In Barcelona, Alejo Buxeres Pons, 82, is still on trial for an alleged stock market swindle for which he was indicted 12 years ago.

The former governor of the Bank of Spain, Mariano Rubio, whose signature still appears on banknotes, was arrested in May and charged with evading taxes on speculative stock earnings. He spent two weeks in jail before being released on bail. There is no sign that he or the former chairman of the Madrid stock exchange, Manuel de la Concha, who was arrested at the same time, will be brought to trial any time soon.

In fact, the only conspicuous success of the judiciary this year has been the six-year prison sentence passed last month on Juan Hormaechea, the caudillo of the Cantabria region. The first regional governor to be convicted, the autocratic Mr. Hormaechea threatened not to resign, but finally stepped down this month.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### UN Says North Korea Froze Reactor

VIENNA (Reuters) — North Korea has halted its nuclear program and stopped building two nuclear reactors in accordance with its accord with the United States, the United Nations atomic safeguards agency said Monday.

The International Atomic Energy Agency said that inspectors who arrived in North Korea last week had visited atomic sites and confirmed that all work had been halted. North Korea announced on Nov. 18 that it had frozen its nuclear program.

"The IAEA team visited the nuclear facilities in Yongbyon and Taechon and confirmed that at these facilities were not in operation and that construction work had stopped," the agency said.

### Chechnya Eases Ultimatum to Russia

GROZNY, Russia (AP) — The president of Russia's breakaway Chechnya region toned down a threat Monday to execute about 70 captured Russians, saying they would be judged according to international law.

But the official, Dzhokar Dudayev, did not lift the ultimatum entirely, giving Russia until 6 P.M. Tuesday to admit that its troops were involved in a failed attempt Saturday to the Chechen capital, Grozny, to overthrow the Dudayev government. "If they deny it, the Chechen Republic has the right to treat the prisoners as mercenaries and criminals," Mr. Dudayev said. About 200 opposition fighters were captured in the assault and about 70 of them reportedly are Russians.

Russia's Security Council planned to discuss the Chechnya issue Monday night, said the parliament speaker, Ivan Rybkin. "It is impossible to speak of Russian interference in the Chechen conflict," Mr. Rybkin was quoted by the Interfax news agency as saying. "Chechnya is part of Russia."

### Nepal's Ruling Party Steps Down

KATMANDU, Nepal (AP) — The ruling Nepali Congress Party bowed out of the race to form a government on Monday and paved the way for Nepal's first Communist government.

Congress Party leaders met Monday but could not agree on how to keep power. A spokesman, Tara Nath Bhatti, said the meeting decided that the party would stay in the opposition since talks with the Communists and the pro-monarchy group to form a coalition government had failed.

### Turkey Spurs Kurd's Peace Plan

ANKARA (Reuters) — The Kurdish guerrilla leader Abdullah Ocalan called for a cease-fire and international mediation to end separatist insurgency in Turkey, but the government on Monday rejected any talks with the rebels.

Mr. Ocalan, known within the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party as Apo, presented his proposals to end the decade-old conflict, which has killed 13,000 people, in a weekend letter to world leaders. Its contents were published in a pro-Kurdish daily.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Slow Start for Belgian Channel Train

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — Belgium's Eurostar Channel tunnel train service is operating at about a quarter full since its launching Nov. 14, according to figures released Monday by Belgian railroads.

"We had a load factor of around 28 percent in the first week and that fell to around 17 percent in the second week," a spokesman responsible for Eurostar said.

Passengers also will have to make part of their journey on Eurostar by bus on Tuesday because of a 24-hour strike in Belgian public service companies. Passengers will be transported from Brussels to Lille, France, where they will link up with the train. There are two Brussels-London runs a day.

KLM Royal Dutch Airlines and the Surinam airline SLM are lowering most of their fares for flights between the Netherlands and Surinam by 10 percent to boost traffic outside peak season. The fare change becomes effective Jan. 1. (Bloomberg)

Bombay was partly paralyzed by a general strike Monday called by opposition parties to protest police action blamed for triggering the deaths of 115 demonstrators in a stampede last week in Nagpur. (Reuters)

The Australian Embassy in Cambodia has revised its travel advisory, warning that nonessential travel outside the capital should be avoided, after the killing of two Australian hostages there this year. The warning said air travel in an organized group to visit Angkor Wat was possible, but that nationals should first contact the embassy for "specific security advice." (Reuters)

An airport refuelers strike forced the cancellation of flights and caused delays in Sydney on Monday. (Reuters)

Many of Jamaica's 37,000 civil servants began a two-day walkout Monday over the government's refusal to pay retroactive raises in a jump sum in December. (Reuters)

## DEATH NOTICE

The loving family and friends of

John SHELBY

regretfully announce his untimely passing on November 27th, in Trouville - the place where John chose to live.

A service will be held on November 30th at 3 p.m. at the Eglise N.D. des Victoires, Blvd. d'Hautpoul, in Trouville, followed by the burial nearby.



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## In Spain, It's Been an Exceptional Year — of Sorts — for Embezzlers

By Barry James  
International Herald Tribune

Even for a country that has lived with a sense of the picaresque since the time of Cervantes, it has been an extraordinary year for Spain.

The former governor of the national bank has been indicted for tax evasion. The chief of the Civil Guard is a fugitive from justice. The governor of one of the country's most important regions has begun a six-year prison sentence for embezzlement. Its wealthiest financier is in jail. And the former chairman of one of its biggest private banks has just been indicted for fraud.

Cases of venality, large and small, have mushroomed to such an extent that a senior judge, Baltasar Garçon, said last week that the government of Prime Minister Felipe González had become illegitimate in the eyes of many citizens. Mr. Garçon, formerly Spain's top drugs investigator, warned that generalized corruption was undermining the democratic system.

To make matters worse for Mr. González, who has not otherwise been the direct target of accusations

himself in 12 years in office, a Madrid newspaper, El Mundo, says that he threw a lucrative government contract in the direction of his brother-in-law. Mr. González denies it, and El Mundo has been unable to substantiate its accusation. Still, the publicity

## Spanish corruption, less institutionalized than in Italy, and less political than in France, has a grotesque quality that sets it apart.

has been a further blow to a government that has steadily lost support because of the corruption issue.

Customarily, it has been taken for granted in Spain that people will use positions of influence or authority to feather their nests. Under the Franco dictatorship, when corruption was even more rampant, the historian Salvador de Madariaga railed against

"the unproductive (if not destructive) greed of the droves and locusts of the regime that are eating the nation's patrimony."

What has changed is that Spain has transformed itself in 20 years from a rightist dictatorship to a democracy with a feisty press that makes venality seem more apparent.

Spanish corruption, less institutionalized than in Italy, and less political than in France, has a grotesque quality that sets it apart. Take the example of Luis Roldán Ibañez, a taxi driver's son who rose through Socialist Party ranks without qualifications to become head of the Civil Guard, the 70,000-man paramilitary national police force.

During the eight years he ran the force, he amassed conspicuous wealth and real estate until the government removed him and charged him with embezzlement. The prosecutor said he had taken kickbacks on contracts to build Civil Guard barracks and dipped into the secret slush fund the force keeps to pay informers and conduct undercover operations.

Before he could be brought to trial however, Mr. Roldán dropped out of

sight in April, and the police have been looking for him at home and abroad ever since. Some critics say the government is not looking too hard, for Mr. Roldán boasted that he possessed information that could bring down his opponents.

With Mr. Roldán's escape undoubtedly in mind, a court this month set a 12 billion-peseta (\$95 million) bail for the jet-set former banker Mario Conde after indicting him for fraud and embezzlement. The government also ordered a round-the-clock police watch on Mr. Conde.

He left behind a \$4.8 billion hole at Banesto, one of Spain's biggest private banks, which he ran for seven years before being deposed by the Bank of Spain 11 months ago. Mr. Conde, 46, once seen as a potential rival to Mr. González, blamed his fall on a political conspiracy.

Few of the mighty have fallen as far and as fast as the Catalan financier Javier de la Rosa Martí, who last month exchanged his luxury Barcelo-

na apartment for a tiny jail cell, which he shares with two other prisoners.

The public prosecutor has accused

him of falsifying commercial documents and embezzling the savings of 9,000 small investors, valued at 30 billion pesetas, in the Grand Tibidabo company, part of the financier's maze-like Quail Foundation.

It is a mystery how Mr. de la Rosa

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# THE AMERICAS / A DAUNTING PROJECT

## Balancing the Budget: Possible Theoretically but 'Painful as Hell' Politically

By David E. Rosenbaum  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In mid-January, the House of Representatives will vote on a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget. It will be "our first smashing victory," said Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia — a safe political forecast.

But then what? If the Senate also passes it, and it is ratified by 38 states and becomes part of the constitution, the budget actually be balanced early in the next century, as the Republicans promise?

And can they do it, as they claim, without raising taxes or touching Social Security retirement benefits and with cuts in the military budget much smaller than those President Bill Clinton has proposed?

Theoretically, yes. Politically, the prospects are daunting.

In March, Representative Gerald B.H. Solomon, a senior Republican

from upstate New York, proposed such a budget in the House. Only 73 representatives voted for it; 342, including Mr. Gingrich, who will presumably be the next speaker of the House, voted against it.

The Solomon budget is important because it is the only existing program-by-program, line-by-line accounting of how the budget can be balanced and meet the Republican specifications of no additional taxes, no reduction in Social Security and military cuts only half as deep as the administration's.

An examination of the fine print shows what the cuts would entail. Beginning in the 1995 fiscal year, they would total about \$700 billion over five years and well over \$1 trillion over seven. Even more cuts would be needed if Republicans followed through on another promise to reduce taxes.

"It's painful as hell," Mr. Solomon, who is expected to be the new chairman of the Rules Committee,

said in an interview. "But eventually you have to stop talking about it in the abstract and begin dealing with the details."

Under his plan, federal spending on environment would be cut by 44 percent, on agriculture by 72 percent, on foreign aid by 32 percent, on transportation by 29 percent, on community and regional development by 40 percent and on energy by 65 percent.

Medicare and Medicaid spending would be cut by much more than \$100 billion over five years, with upper-income retirees having to pay much more for their health insurance than they do now and poor people restricted to certain doctors and hospitals.

Spending on income security, a budget category that includes welfare and almost all other programs for the poor, would be reduced by \$150 billion over five years, or about 12 percent.

At the same time, spending on job-training would be cut in half. And states would have to pick up part of the cost of food stamps and a larger share of foster-care expenses.

Dozens of federal activities would be abolished altogether, including economic aid to Russia, almost all agriculture price supports, construction of a space station, grants for new sewer systems, subsidies for Amtrak operations and air service to isolated communities, economic development grants to local governments, the national service corps and the legal services corporation.

"This is a radical restructuring of government, cutting or eliminating wholesale huge swaths of the government as we know it," said Martha Phillips, executive director of the Concord Coalition, a bipartisan group devoted to eliminating the federal budget deficit.

The Concord Coalition has its plan to balance the budget. But it

would require wealthy Americans to pay more in taxes and forgo some of their Social Security benefits, provisions opposed by the Republicans.

Gene Sperling, a White House economic adviser, said the spending cuts in the Solomon plan would be "draconian for poor children and go far beyond what many Americans think would be reasonable."

But Mr. Sperling said Mr. Solomon deserved credit for "putting forth a line-by-line, item-by-item plan like this."

Mr. Solomon made a few concessions to practical politics. For example, dairy price supports would be retained, while all other agriculture subsidies would be abolished. Why? Perhaps because Mr. Solomon's constituents in the Hudson River Valley produce more than a billion pounds of milk a year.

Many other proposed cuts would surely run into roadblocks. For ex-

ample, Mr. Solomon would turn over the government's air traffic operation to a private corporation, a shift Mr. Clinton supports, saving the government more than \$30 billion over five years.

The main opponent of such a step is the private plane industry, and as long as Bob Dole of Kansas is the Senate's majority leader, the measure is bound to face trouble.

Beecraft, Cessna and Learjet aircraft are manufactured in Kansas, a state the spokeswoman for the General Aviation Manufacturers Association calls "the capital of our industry."

When the Solomon budget was debated on the House floor in March, a supporter, Representative Dick Zimmer, Republican of New Jersey, declared, "Those of us who advocate a balanced budget have a moral responsibility to get specific and show how it can be done."

But even Republicans voted against the measure by a 2-to-1 margin. Mr. Gingrich said at the time that he opposed it because he did not want to draw attention from a Republican alternative budget that would have reduced the deficit by only a fifth as much as the Solomon plan.

The Republican alternative was rejected more or less along party lines.

Mr. Solomon said last week that many more lawmakers would have supported him if his proposal had stood any chance of being approved. Since it was sure to be defeated, he said, many colleagues saw little point in casting a vote that could be used against them by groups of constituents.

But he said that even next year, with Republicans in control of the House, he was not sure he would get more than about 150 votes on his side.

### ★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

#### Grooming New Congress: Matter of Style

WASHINGTON — With Republicans eager to take charge in the first Congress they have controlled in 40 years, senators and representatives return to Washington this week to choose the leaders who will set the legislative tone for the next two years.

Ideology is only minimally involved in the leadership fights. The competition is more over styles, conciliatory versus combative. But the legislative record of the 104th Congress may depend more on such mechanics than on the substance of any campaign promises.

Formally, it is the outgoing 103rd Congress that will convene this week, to vote on an international trade agreement that it did not want to scare voters with before the election. But the 104th Congress, with 11 new senators and 87 new representatives, will be holding organizational meetings.

Much attention is focused on contests for leadership positions, especially the job of Senator Bob Dole's assistant leader, a close race between Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming and Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi.

Each is quite conservative. But Mr. Simpson, who has held the job for 10 years, has stronger connections both to party moderates and Senate Democrats, while Mr. Lott boasts of his ties to Representative Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia, the speaker-in-waiting. The result of that race seems likely to influence strongly the approach the new Republican majority in the Senate will take, especially if Mr. Dole decides to run for president.

(Adam Clymer/NYT)

#### Not All Political Promises Created Equal

WASHINGTON — The opening bell of the 104th Congress will not ring for another six weeks, but Capitol Hill's bookmakers have already reached one conclusion about the odds that the House Republicans' ambitious "Contract with America" will be enacted into law.

When it comes to political contracts, not all promises are created equal.

The 10-point contract commits House Republicans to a series of up-or-down floor votes on a wide range of tax cuts, spending reductions, welfare reforms and constitutional changes in the first 100 days of the new legislative session.

Drafted by the incoming House speaker, Mr. Gingrich, and endorsed by many Republican lawmakers, the contract contains much that party members agree on. But it is also studded with a number of provisions on which there is anything but a consensus within Republican ranks.

Already, some Republicans are talking privately about trying to split the contract's agenda into two parts.

"First, there are the things that we really need to try to pass and get enacted into law with Clinton's signature," said a senior Republican source. "And then there are the things that we need to vote for, but that some of us won't be terribly upset to see the Democrats kill, or Clinton veto, so they can take blame for it."

(LAT)

#### Making Capital of a Republican Tax Cut

WASHINGTON — The newly dominant congressional Republicans have made cutting taxes on capital gains — profits on the sale of stock, bonds, real estate and other assets — a priority for the new Congress, and had even threatened to hold up the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade pact unless President Bill Clinton agreed to go along. These Republicans — and some Democrats as well — believe that cutting capital gains taxes would be good for the economy.

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, interviewed Sunday on a CBS news show, said the administration was willing to consider a request by Mr. Dole to cut the capital gains tax. Mr. Bentsen said, however, that it was necessary to find a way of compensating for lost federal revenue if the capital gains tax were reduced.

Capital gains now are taxed at a maximum 28 percent, although because deductions and other breaks are phased out for high-income people the effective top rate can be higher. There are a variety of ways to reduce taxes on capital gains. Current law sets a special lower maximum rate for them, and Congress could simply reduce that ceiling further. Previous laws allowed regular rates to apply, but let taxpayers exclude a portion of their gains from taxable income, effectively lowering the rate.

Another possibility is to adjust the capital gains to allow for inflation. Proponents argue that part of most capital gains is nothing more than inflation, and since that portion does not represent a real increase in value, it is unfair to tax it.

The Republican proposal, as outlined in their House candidates' "Contract With America," would allow corporations and individuals to adjust gains to account for inflation and exclude 50 percent of the gains from taxation.

(WP)

#### Quote/Unquote

"A contract is a contract," said William Schneider, a political analyst with the American Enterprise Institute, referring to the Republicans' "Contract With America" package of legislative changes. "The voters have delivered on their end of it," he said, and Republicans "must at least now make a sincere effort to carry out their promises."

(LAT)

#### Away From Politics

• A tornado demolished a home where 16 people were attending a family reunion in Tennessee, killing two and burying injured survivors in the debris. Storms across the nation — from Northern California to Mississippi to New Hampshire — claimed a total of 10 lives and stymied holiday travelers.

• California's first known death from the so-called flesh-eating bacteria came when Thomas G. Lakin, the chancellor of the Ventura County Community College district, died a few days after complaining of a severe sore throat and leg pains. The bacteria, properly known as necrotizing fasciitis, is a virulent, sometimes deadly strain of streptococcus and other germs.

• NASA's Johnson Space Center has banned tests with toxic chemicals because of a poisonous release that turned up a series of safety failures. An internal investigation found poor training and lack of planning were major contributors to the April accident, which sent dozens of center workers to a hospital.

AP, LAT



Mr. Sanguinetti, right, and Vice President-elect Hugo Batella celebrating Monday.

### Uruguay's Ex-President Is Back

The Associated Press

MONTEVIDEO — A former president and opposition party candidate, Julio Maria Sanguinetti, won Uruguay's closest election battle in recent history, the government said Monday.

President Luis Alberto Lacalle of the National Party called Mr. Sanguinetti to congratulate him for having won and invited him to meet to discuss the March 1 transition, an official communiqué said.

Mr. Sanguinetti, 58, an attorney and former journalist representing the Colorado Party, was first elected president in 1985 to oversee Uruguay's transition to civilian rule after 12 years of military dictatorship.

Presidents are barred by law from serving consecutive terms. In his second term Mr. Sanguinetti will oversee his nation's role in the Mercosur customs union with Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay that begins Jan. 1. The pact is known as Mercosur in non-Spanish-speaking countries.

Uruguay's businesses, which for decades enjoyed protection from foreign competition, have been slow to prepare for Mercosur.

Business leaders say they fear that they will be overwhelmed by a flood of goods from Argentina and Brazil and the rest of the world.

Mr. Sanguinetti said he would seek to increase Uruguay's exports. "We can no longer tolerate a high trade deficit," he said, referring to the \$688 million shortfall for the year that ended Sept. 30.

Returns released Monday by the Interior Ministry, based on 85 percent of the returns, said the Colorados had 586,392 of the votes, compared with the National Party's 566,622 votes and 554,206 for the leftist Progressive Encounter. The nation has 3.2 million inhabitants.

"People know what I'm about," he said shortly before casting his ballot. "I am a worker, and I share their values."

### John Shelby Dies, Ex-IHT Executive

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — John Shelby, 55, who held a number of management positions on the business side of the International Herald Tribune, died of cancer Sunday in Trouville, France.

Mr. Shelby was a native of Michigan and a 1960 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy who earned a master's degree in business administration at the University of Michigan in 1965. He joined the newspaper as a marketing assistant in 1969, later becoming head of marketing and director of classified advertising sales.

He left in 1978 to captain a charter barge on European canals and rivers before returning in 1981 to become director of research and development, director of promotion, marketing and public relations and finally personal assistant to the publisher.

Mr. Shelby resigned in 1989 to pursue other interests — among them as a restaurateur and sculptor — in Trouville.

Enrique y Tarancon, 87, Was Spanish Cardinal

VALENCIA, Spain (AP) — Cardinal Vicente Enrique y Tarancon, 87, who led Spain's Roman Catholic Church during the country's transition from dictatorship to democracy, died of lung cancer Monday in Valencia.

Although his outspoken defense of workers and demands for more freedom led to frequent clashes with the Franco government during the waning

years of the dictator's 1939-75 regime, the cardinal was highly respected because of his influence at the Vatican and his popularity among Spaniards.

Viola Spolin, 88, whose innovative dramatic training groups gave impetus to two generations of improvisational performers, died in Los Angeles.

Harry Abrams, 87, who twice ran between Los Angeles and New York City in the late 1920s, died of a brain tumor Sunday in Briarcliff Manor, New York.

### California City Offers a Test Of Religious Right's Agenda

By Seth Mydans  
New York Times Service

VISTA, California — In 1992, the religious right established a beachhead in this Southern California city, winning control of the school board after a rough-and-tumble campaign that included many of the issues that now top the national agenda.

The usual work of a school board then took a back seat as its 3-to-2 conservative majority fought to limit sex education, promote the teaching of creationism, curtail breakfast programs financed by the government and reintroduce prayer to the school system.

But in a sharp reversal this month, even as much of the rest of the country was swinging to the right, voters in this generally conservative city of 76,000 turned against the religious right, removing two of the new board members in a recall vote and defeating all five Christian conservatives who ran for the board's three vacant seats.

Opponents of the religious right trumpeted the election results as an object lesson in the unpopularity of its agenda. Supporters called the outcome an anomaly in a year when like-minded candidates swept into office throughout the country.

Another interpretation was that Vista was simply trying to escape the scrutiny the debate had brought the city and was voting for "peace at any price."

Whichever is correct, it was clear in Vista that the election of Christian conservatives to a local school board two years ago was not the end but the beginning of the battle. School board meetings that in the past had attracted 30 or so spectators now drew as many as 600 noisy partisans, as well as reporters and cameras from across the country.

Urgent questions about the budget, school safety and academic policy were buried in the tumult as meetings became a venue for the most elementary tug-of-war over the character and the direction of society.

Conservatives shouted out the word "God" at the appropriate moment as the crowds recited the Pledge of Allegiance to start the meetings, and scientists from nearby academic institutions waved bits of fossils to emphasize their opposition to biblical creationism.

"Let's get on with taking care of the real issues facing this board," one parent, Eric Goldstein, pleaded at a board meeting last year, citing the possible bankruptcy of the school system. But his voice was lost in the uproar over issues like the replacement of the sex education course with a program stressing abstinence, the one piece of its agenda that the board was able to institute.

In the wake of this month's

voting, newly elected board members said they planned to roll back the new sex education policy, and opponents of the religious right are congratulating themselves.

The lesson in Vista, said Arthur J. Kropp, president of People for the American Way, a liberal group, is not the candidates' ability to win but the public's reaction to their policies once they are in office.

"Where the rubber hits the road and these candidates become public officials and go about the business of enacting an agenda, there is almost always a backlash," he said. "Our public opinion research shows us that as long as these groups can talk about these things in vague terms, it works, but get them talking on specifics, and the public moves away."

Tom Conry, president of the Vista Teachers Association, whose members have strongly opposed the Christian right, said the election made a statement at a time of renewed discussion about prayer in the schools.

"This election sends a very clear message," he said, "not only to our community but also, I think, to our state and our nation, and that is, keep politics out of education; keep religion out of education."

Not so, said Ralph Reed, who is head of the Christian Coalition, the political organization of the television evangelist Pat Robertson and the nation's most powerful electoral engine for the religious right.

"I don't think you should try and draw conclusions about the most significant and consequential by-election in the post-war period from a single school board election," he said. "I could give you the names of liberal candidates who were elected to school boards, people found out what they stood for and threw them off."

He added, "I would argue that what happened in Vista was an aberration and that throughout the country, religious conservatives are running, winning and governing effectively."

### High Court Allows Suit To Ban 'Joe Camel' Ads

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court refused Monday to kill a lawsuit that accuses a cigarette maker of using Joe Camel, a suave cartoon character, to entice children to smoke.

A state appeals court reinstated the lawsuit, and its ruling was upheld by the California Supreme Court in June.

In other cases, the court: • Agreed to use an Oregon case to decide whether school districts can require student athletes to undergo drug testing. The court said it would hear the Vernonia School District's argument that mandatory drug testing "may be the only effective way to deal with a drug-use epidemic among schoolchildren."

• Refused to reinstate a lawsuit by a navy reservist who says the government should pay her because she contracted the AIDS virus by having sex with a navy enlisted man.

• Agreed to decide whether the Constitution requires police with court warrants to knock and announce themselves before entering a home to conduct a search.

The lawsuit cited figures from the American Medical Association that said sales of Camels to teenagers rose to \$476 million in 1992 from \$6 million in 1988, when Joe Camel was introduced.

She sued in state court, alleging that Reynolds, a subsidiary of RJR Nabisco Inc., had violated a California law banning unfair business practices.

The lawsuit cited figures from the American Medical Association that said sales of Camels to teenagers rose to \$476 million in 1992 from \$6 million in 1988, when Joe Camel was introduced.

Reynolds, which manufactures Camel cigarettes, was sued by a San Francisco lawyer, Janet Mangini, in 1992, two years after she learned of a report that said Joe Camel was as familiar to children as Mickey Mouse.

She sued in state court, alleging that Reynolds, a subsidiary of RJR Nabisco Inc., had violated a California law banning unfair business practices.

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# Herald Tribune

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## When Baghdad Complies

There are two ways to contain Iraq. One, as the Clinton administration recently demonstrated, is to deter war. The other, which it has neglected, is to encourage moves toward peace.

Washington refuses to acknowledge Iraq's progress on arms control — a serious and potentially dangerous mistake. Iraq's progress on arms control is a serious and potentially dangerous mistake. Iraq's progress on arms control is a serious and potentially dangerous mistake.

Baghdad seriously damaged its credibility last month by staging menacing military maneuvers near Kuwait. After that play backfired, it reversed course and recognized Kuwait's sovereignty and borders. But its earlier threats devalued that concession; Iraq must now firm up its assurances that it will never again engage in such provocative conduct toward its neighbors by agreeing to restrict its troop movements, give advance notice of future exercises and admit outside observers.

Still, three and a half years after the Gulf War it is time to acknowledge that Washington is not about to overthrow Saddam Hussein. Besides, no better successor is in sight. If Iraq is to be influenced, America needs to talk to the present regime. Instead, the Clinton administration labels Iraq a "rogue state," responsive only to brute force. Iraq is surely an aggressor state, but it can also respond rationally to diplomatic incentives. For two years it has cooperated with UN arms inspectors, and its motive for this cooperation is clear. The resolution ending the Gulf War stated that by complying with arms control requirements alone, even if it ignored other UN resolutions, Iraq could reclaim the right to sell oil on the world market.

## Defend Foreign Aid

The prospect of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee being led by foreign aid's most vehement foe is bad enough. But the incoming committee chairman, Jesse Helms, is not the most serious problem confronting the Agency for International Development. In January, foreign assistance must navigate a congressional gauntlet consisting of a House and Senate firmly in the grip of a skeptical, conservative Republican majority. That is the real challenge to the U.S. foreign aid program.

Whether AID reaches the end of the legislative session in a vanquished or victorious state depends more on the administration's resolve and skill than on the opposition of one outspoken Republican extremist. There is a strong case for continuing help to the developing world, if the Clinton administration wants to spend the political chips to make it. Despite stories of waste and fraud, foreign aid is not an irresponsible giveaway program. On balance it has made sense on economic, humanitarian, security and fiscal grounds.

Contrary to popular belief, only one-half of 1 percent of the total U.S. budget is spent by AID. In fact, the administration is currently operating on the lowest budget in the history of foreign aid. The lion's share of AID's \$13 billion budget is

consumed by countries in the more politically potent Middle East and Eastern Europe. What is left is shared by developing nations, mostly in Africa, where the world's hungriest and most desperately poor are trying to survive.

Since its inception, foreign aid has managed to survive despite unrelenting attacks from the isolationist wings in both parties. That is because the basic argument for bipartisan aid support is as sound today as it was when the effort was launched almost 50 years ago by Harry Truman, President from John Kennedy to Ronald Reagan, regardless of their views upon entering office, have ended up convinced that foreign aid, even on a limited scale, is an indispensable tool of foreign policy.

That message must be sustained today, even in a political climate where basic tenets of domestic and foreign policy will be subjected to attack on a scale unseen in decades. President Bill Clinton does have the burden of overcoming Jesse Helms. But he faces the larger and more important challenge of finding enough common ground between himself and members of the new Republican order to ensure a continuation of America's role in the world. That spells leadership.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## America Betters Britain

Britain, sometimes romanticized as the mother of some American liberties, is dismantling its own safeguards against compelled self-incrimination — at a time when "Miranda rights" seem to enjoy new respect in the United States.

For years British police have been warning arrested suspects: "You do not have to say anything unless you wish to do so, but what you say may be given in evidence." That seems fair enough, although not as informative as the U.S. version. But Parliament has just changed the rules, prescribing a warning that seems certain to confuse and coerce suspects into forfeiting whatever right to silence they have.

The new warning: "You do not have to say anything. But if you do not mention now something which you later use in your defense, the court may decide that your failure to mention it now strengthens the case against you. A record will be made of anything you say and it may be given in evidence if you are brought to trial."

Thus if an arrested person exercises the right to silence, he may suffer for it at trial. It could cost him the chance to offer a credible alibi in his own defense; the judge or jury would be free to discount the defense because it was originally withheld. That defies not only the safeguards against self-incrimination, but worse, the entire criminal justice tradition of demanding that government prove the case against a defendant presumed innocent.

Alas, the British have nothing to teach their former colonies on this subject. Near-

ly 30 years ago, one year before the famous confession case of *Miranda v. Arizona*, the Supreme Court reversed a California murder conviction because the prosecutor and trial judge commented adversely on the defendant's failure to testify. That kind of comment, it said, "is a penalty imposed by courts for exercising a constitutional privilege. It cuts down on the privilege by making its assertion costly."

The "Miranda warnings" required under the high court's 1966 ruling compel police to tell suspects: "You have the right to remain silent and refuse to answer questions. Anything you do say may be used against you in a court of law. You have the right to consult an attorney before speaking to the police and to have an attorney present during any questioning now or in the future. If you cannot afford an attorney, one will be provided for you without cost. If you do not have an attorney available, you have the right to remain silent until you have had an opportunity to consult with one."

Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, who is expected to head the Senate Judiciary Committee, has said that he sees no need to legislate in this area because the Miranda safeguards have worked. That is broadly true, thanks to the American constitutional order with its written charter of liberties, enforced by an independent judiciary. That enforcement has not been uniform, but law enforcement officers have responded well to Miranda's restraints because they are clear and fair.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Arm Muslim Fighters and Bomb Serbian Positions

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Sir Michael Rose, the reincarnation of Neville Chamberlain, has just admitted that his United Nations force of 23,000 Europeans is unable to "deter" Bosnian Serbs from destroying cities that the Security Council has established as safe havens.

That is tantamount to surrender. A ragtag splinter group of Serbs, with no power but the weaponry and willingness to kill civilians, has rendered the peacekeepers and pontificators of the United Nations helpless and contemptible.

This proves that as a vehicle for concerted military response to an aggressor or violator of human rights, the United Nations is worthless.

Worse, its abuse of NATO's military power — calling for pinprick responses, taking out an unmanned tank or bombing an airstrip but sparing places — makes a mockery of the Atlantic alliance's ability to deter by the threat of harsh retaliation.

The demonstration of UN impotence is a plus: we Americans can now stop kidding ourselves about a world police force, and reduce our financial support of the world body to a more equitable 10 percent of its budget.

But the willingness of Britain and France to let NATO be dithered by United Nations hand-wringers is a big minus. The chasm opened within the alliance could sharply reduce America's involvement in European defense.

This is precisely what France wants. "The conflict in Bosnia," says Foreign Minister Alain Juppé, "has shown the necessity to move beyond NATO and American guarantees." French leaders have long thought they would more easily dominate a European bureaucracy if the Americans would go home.

A U.S. withdrawal of its remaining troops, and the folding of the U.S. nuclear umbrella, is not what Britain wants. But the sustained fecklessness of Prime Minister John Major has made unexpected the relationship built up by strong British leaders through hot and cold wars. General Rose's repugnance at "war-making" when UN heavens become war zones symbolizes Britain's least fine hour.

Both France and Britain pretend that America has no standing in stopping the slaughter in Bosnia because it is unwilling

to commit myriads of ground troops to battle. Unless you are willing to lead and bleed, they say, you have no right to anger the Serbs who could take our peacekeepers hostage.

Nonsense. The choice between doing nothing to stop the Serbs and sending in an overwhelming force of hundreds of thousands of Americans is a false choice.

The real choice is between doing nothing to fail to deter the Serbs, and putting into action a NATO strategy to change the course of a war that will be long and bloody no matter what the West does. The peacekeepers have no peace to keep; they cannot stop the Serbs or force the Muslims to surrender. If they are fearful of becoming war-makers, then get them out of the line of fire.

At that point, France and Britain will have no excuse to avoid helping Muslims by lifting the arms embargo, or to hurt Serbs from the air.

Give serious bombing a chance. None of this middle-of-the-night wandering around by a few NATO pilots, jerked in and out of action by a discredited UN commander. Let's see what sustained destruction of bridges and roads, ammunition

dumps, oil supplies and barracks, political gatherings and small factories can do to send the Serbs a message.

This approach is derided by the same horde of military experts who said that Iraq would never be conquered by air, as if such a pounding did not greatly soften the resistance of Saddam Hussein's forces. Ah, but Bosnia is mountainous, say the experts, as if modern airpower could not detect snow and heat or the movement of tanks in snow. The counter-ah is that the far weaker Bosnian Serbs are untested by "incoming" rockets and bombs.

America's defeatist defense secretary scoffed at air power's dispositive role on Sunday. But, combined with arming and training the Muslim fighters who want to occupy their own country, sustained NATO tactical and strategic bombing of Serbian positions and supplies could help level the field of fire.

Yes, it would temporarily raise the level of ferocity. But a rain of unrelenting punishment would also be a powerful inducement to Serbs to end the war on terms already accepted by Muslims. That would save hundreds of thousands of lives. It would save NATO, too.

The New York Times

## On Bosnia, Washington Should Stop Deferring to London and Paris

By Adrian Hastings, Norman Stone, Mark Almond, Noel Malcolm, Branka Magas

LEEDS, England — To lift or not to lift the arms embargo is the central decisive question facing Western policymakers on Bosnia. The American decision to stop enforcing the embargo and the Serbs' advance on Bihać, which depended on their massive superiority in heavy weaponry, have brought it back into the headlines. But in reality this issue has been decisive all along.

The arms embargo has underpinned the entire structure of Western policy that have so significantly failed to halt the war: the hamstringing United Nations operation, the fiction of "safe areas," the so-called peace process — a process for offering the Serbs more and more of what they demand.

Defenders of the arms embargo, such as Britain's defense secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, like to say that the difference between British and American policy arises because the British, having troops on the ground in Bosnia, have a better knowledge of the facts.

The truth is that those divergent attitudes to the embargo are based not so much on differences in knowledge as on different preferences about the future of Bosnia itself. Those who defend the embargo wish Bosnia to be divided; those who call for the lifting of the embargo wish Bosnia to survive within its historical and internationally recognized borders as a viable, sovereign state.

Why have the British and French governments pushed so hard for a policy that will guarantee the destruction and permanent division of Bosnia? Underlying this policy have been three things. The first was their belief that one large state in the area was better than a number of small ones. Once it was clear that Yugoslavia could not be preserved, their support switched to the establishment of a Greater Serbia.

The second was a traditional sympathy with Serbia as an ally from two world wars. British diplomats reacted positively to Serbia and Belgrade, with which they were well acquainted, and negatively to Croatia, smeared as somehow a continuation of the

fascist Ustaša state. Bosnia, meanwhile, remained unknown.

The third was the notion, already being disseminated in June 1992, that the Serbs had successfully seized so much of Bosnia in the first weeks of the war that a fait accompli had been created which the international community would never be able to reverse. The only way to achieve peace, therefore, was to accept the substance of the Serbs' demands.

The fatal mistake here was to underestimate the tenacity and determination of Bosnians to support their legitimate government and defend the pluralist unity of their country. That refusal to accept defeat has, from an early stage in the war, been the real obstacle to the fulfillment of the British-French policy in Bosnia.

And while Lord Owen, Douglas Hurd and Alain Juppé have exerted more and more diplomatic pressure on the Bosnian government to accept the "realities on the ground," it has become more and more important for them to maintain the embargo, which keeps those realities artificially fixed where they are.

Maintaining this policy has required a great effort on the part of the British and French governments. They have had to work hard to oppose all the legal, moral and practical arguments which cry out in favor of lifting the embargo.

The legal arguments are clear. This embargo was not imposed on Bosnia; it was applied in September 1991 to the whole of Yugoslavia, which still functioned theoretically as a single state. In April 1992, Bosnia was recognized as an independent country, and in May it was admitted to the United Nations as a new member state, distinct and separate from Yugoslavia. The only basis for continuing to apply the embargo as if the old Yugoslavia still existed was a report submitted to the Security Council by the UN secretary-general on Jan. 4, 1992, which said that in the opinion of Cyrus Vance this would be the best thing to do.

Such a flimsy legal basis can hardly prevail against the funda-

mental right of self-defense of a sovereign state — a right which the UN embargo clearly violates. That right is set out in Article 51 of the UN Charter, but it is quite false to suppose that it is a privilege handed out to member states by the United Nations, which it can therefore withdraw when it so wishes. Self-defense is a fundamental right in international law, pre-dating the United Nations.

The moral argument is based on the view that the Bosnian state embodied values — of democracy, pluralism and legitimacy — which are worth defending. Since Western governments will not use their own troops to preserve the Bosnian state, they must allow the Bosnian army to act unhindered in defense of that state and the values it stands for.

This war is not a clash between two mirror images of ethnic hostility. It is a conflict between two different versions of society: one based on the continuation of a multiethnic and multi-religious life through democratic institutions, and the other based on racial-religious purity, established by murder, mass expulsions and the destruction of religious and cultural monuments.

Spokesmen for the British-French policy always fail to mention that the government of Bosnia has retained Croatian and Serbian members throughout the war. It is quite false to talk about Radovan Karadzic as if he represented "the Serbs" en bloc. Of the 1,300,000 Serbs who lived in Bosnia before the war, only 600,000 now live in the territory which Mr. Karadzic controls — even though his forces took over not only all the Serb-majority areas, but many other areas besides.

Roughly 200,000 Serbs still live in the territory of the Bosnian government. In Tuzla, Serbs have even formed a special brigade of Serbs within the Bosnian army. And of the hundreds of thousands of Serbs who have sought refuge abroad, a significant proportion are appalled by what has been done to their name.

In this context, it is particularly wrongheaded to argue — as four

writers did in a contribution from London in this space on Nov. 16 — that establishing Bosnia as an independent state was wrong because the state was bound to be "seen as artificial by so many of its inhabitants."

How many is so many? The majority of Bosnians voted for independence in the referendum, and the reason why many Serbians did not vote was that Mr. Karadzic's benchmarks had stopped the ballot boxes from entering those areas.

Fewer than 100,000 men, mainly soldiers under orders, took part in the military operation, directed by a neighboring state, which carved out the bulk of Mr. Karadzic's territory in April and May 1992. Many of them were Serbs from outside Bosnia.

The practical arguments for lifting the embargo are also serious and compelling. Even Lord Owen has begun recently to recognize that no "peace plan" will be accepted by the Serbs until at least a balance of power has been created on the ground. If the Serbian attack on Croatia in 1991 ended after six or seven months, it was largely because a balance of power was developing (thanks to improved supplies of weaponry to the Croats) in which further aggression had become too costly. Mr. Karadzic still has no such incentive to come to the negotiating table.

Defenders of the embargo usually make two claims: first, that lifting it would lead to a terrible escalation of the fighting, and second, that the Bosnian army has plenty of weapons already. The second claim, which blatantly contradicts the first, has become the favorite line taken by British government briefings.

It is strange to hear an embargo defended above all on the grounds that it does not work. But the truth is that it does work, in the absolutely crucial area of heavy weaponry. As the Bosnian army breakout round Bihać and its subsequent collapse have shown, the Serbs may be vulnerable to infantry warfare on a wide front, and they may nowadays need more time to move their heavy weaponry around; but once they have concentrated it in any particular counterattack, their massive superiority in firepower virtually ensures success.

As for the argument that lifting the embargo would create a bloodbath and "only prolong the fighting," this is radically misconceived. The Bosnian government is not a mirror image of Mr. Karadzic's regime: the mass murder of civilians is not one of its military objectives. Serbian villages in reconquered areas of Herzegovina live peacefully now under the protection of the Bosnian state.

It is true that, if the embargo were lifted, the level of fighting between the two armies would increase in the short term. But the result, after some significant defeats of the Serbian forces, would be to bring long-term peace much sooner to all the people of Bosnia.

When the Bosnian government

asked in October for a delay in implementing any decision to lift the embargo, it was not repudiating the policy itself. It was merely recognizing that, as a direct result of the policy pursued by Western governments so far, huge practical difficulties had been created which would necessitate a period of preparation.

The worst problem is that of the so-called safe areas, enclaves in which tens of thousands of civilians are kept in effect as hostages by the Serbs.

In some cases (Zepa and Srebrenica), the local Bosnian government forces have had their weapons confiscated by the United Nations. This presents a remarkable contrast with the "UN Protected Areas" in Croatia, where large armed forces were actively built up by the Serbs, under the aegis of the United Nations, before being unleashed in the attack on the Bihać enclave.

The West has helped to create these "safe areas," and, having helped to prevent the Bosnian army from defending them, it has publicly accepted responsibility for their protection.

Security Council Resolution 836 authorized the UN Protection Force to use force "in reply to bombardments against the safe areas by any of the parties or armed incursions into them or in the event of any deliberate obstruction to or around these areas to the freedom of movement" of the UN force "or of protected humanitarian convoys." On each of these counts, the UN Protection force has failed consistently to carry out its mandate.

When the embargo is finally lifted, it will become more necessary, not less, for the United Nations to ensure that this mandate is enforced. NATO should be enabled to give full and effective protection to those safe areas from the air. It is both essential and entirely right that any policy of "lift" should include a policy of "strike," as President Bill Clinton previously proposed.

The British-French strategy, which has dominated Western policy for two and a half years, has been both unethical and completely unsuccessful. Only through an enormous exercise in deceit has it lasted as long as it has.

It is time that the U.S. government ceased to allow either its own policy or that of the United Nations to be hijacked by London and Paris, and made to serve a strategy wholly inconsistent with the ideals of democracy and pluralism on which the United States itself was built.

Adrian Hastings is professor of theology at Leeds University. Norman Stone is professor of modern history at Oxford University. Mark Almond is tutor in modern history at Oriel College, Oxford, and author of "Europe's Backyard War." Noel Malcolm is author of "Bosnia: A Short History." Branka Magas is author of "The Destruction of Yugoslavia." They contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## NATO Discredited by Its Members

By Anthony Lewis

NEW YORK — For four decades the North Atlantic Treaty Organization kept the peace in Europe. It was an extraordinary achievement of trans-Atlantic cooperation. Now NATO may be at the end of its useful life. Its credibility, and very likely its raison d'être, died under Serbian assault on the town of Bihać in Bosnia.

The world's most powerful military alliance was committed to forceful action — air attacks — to prevent military assaults on the declared safe area of Bihać. But NATO did nothing while General Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb commander, pounded the town with artillery and sent his troops into the supposedly protected zone.

The excuse for NATO's inaction was that its aircraft had not received a go-ahead from the chief of the United Nations force in Bosnia. Sir Michael Rose, a British lieutenant general, no longer bothering to conceal his indifference to Serbian aggression, Sir Michael vetoed proposed raids.

Many blame the United Nations for NATO's inaction, at Bihać and elsewhere in Bosnia. Senator Robert Dole, soon to be the Republican majority leader, said: "I think the UN ought to get off of NATO's back, and let NATO take care of the Serbian aggression in Bosnia."

But that view misses the central political reason for the West's failure in Bosnia: key members of NATO, Britain and France, did not want to take vigorous action. They went along with NATO decisions to act more forcefully, but with the proviso that any step be subject

to veto by the United Nations. And the UN force, with its "impartial humanitarian mission," tended to object every time.

"NATO the institution is unrivaled in what it could do," an American official appraising the Bihać disaster said. "But NATO is only what its member governments decide. It's a question of what they will do."

The failure of NATO members goes back more than three years, to the beginning of Serbian aggression in the former Yugoslavia. That was when the Serbs, led by members of the Yugoslav federal army and with its weapons, attacked Croatia and seized a large swath of its territory.

President George Bush decided to opt out of a profound European security crisis — to do nothing, leaving it to the Europeans to act. It was a fatal misjudgment, perhaps fatal to the alliance itself.

The alliance had always depended on American leadership; without that, it foundered. The Europeans refused to resist aggression. Instead they called for a limited UN "peacekeeping" mission to get relief to communities besieged by the Serbs.

The mission was a hopeless notion from the start. There was no peace to keep. The UN command became hostage to the dominant Serbian forces, obeying their rules, and even giving them part of relief shipments, in order to get their permission to feed the starving.

Western governments went on with this charade for politi-

cal reasons. They hoped to deceive their own publics into believing that such a limited intervention could be sustained and would in due course wind down the war.

The charade is over. It was threadbare after the Serbian attack on the safe area of Gorazde last spring, when General Rose was too little and too late in responding — and then he denied that the Serbs had really done anything bad.

Europeans complain indignantly that the United States criticizes their performance in Bosnia but will not send any troops to the UN force. It is a fair point. But then why should America supply troops for a useless mission, one that treats victim and aggressor alike?

European hypocrisy was perfectly expressed two weeks ago in The Times of London, in a piece by George Brock. Complaining of President Bill Clinton's compliance with a congressional act requiring him to end the arms embargo on Bosnia, Mr. Brock described the law as "congressional pressure to back a single side in Bosnia." The president, he said, chose obedience to the law over "the long-term importance of transatlantic values." What values do you suppose he meant? Bowing to aggression and genocide? Not even Neville Chamberlain went that far in his supplications to Hitler.

Americans may well begin to ask why we have all those troops in Europe. If member governments do not have the stomach to deter Ratko Mladic and his thugs, what is NATO's future?

The New York Times

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1894: Moustache Artist

BERLIN — His Majesty the Emperor greatly admires long and stiff moustaches. In the "Reichs-ster" style, with points turned up towards the corners of the eyes. Having been told that the hairdresser Haby had a special treatment for this sort of adornment, he sent for him and ordered him to dress the Imperial moustaches daily in the desired style. Haby has since paid a visit to the castle daily, sometimes twice a day, in order to cultivate the Imperial moustaches. The event is the talk of all Berlin, and it is thought that the artist Haby will get the appointment of Hof-friseur (hair curler to the Court).

### 1919: Indecent Dances

PARIS — [From our New York edition:] Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, today [Nov. 29]

issued a pastoral letter protesting against the immodest toilettes of women and indecent dances, saying that Christian women and girls ought to abstain from such dressing and amusements. The Cardinal affirms that these dances are exotic by origin and by name. Presumably, he refers to certain American dances which have become the fashion in Paris in recent months.

### 1944: Casinos Seized

BUENOS AIRES — [From our New York edition:] The military government of general Edelmiro Farrell staged a sensational commercial coup yesterday [Nov. 27] by taking over one of the largest profit-making enterprises in Argentina — gambling. The government issued a decree declaring all casinos and gambling houses "public utilities" and subject to expropriation by the state.

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OPINION

# Rabin Makes Sense on Syria, the Golan and U.S. Troops

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Yitzhak Rabin, due in Oslo next week for the Nobel celebration of Israel's free-form, embryonic peace with the Palestinians, was in Washington a few days ago laying the groundwork for an every-odd, every-odd-in-place accord with Syria. This means that a Syrian deal has at last become a clear and present possibility.

The ever-cautious Mr. Rabin was not about to declare that peace is at hand. The Israeli prime minister was instead speaking in serious detail about what is needed to make the deal with Hafez Assad happen. Mr. Rabin does not waste his breath talking to American journalists, senators and community leaders about things that are not going to happen.

In similar conversations in America not long ago he shied away from talking details on Syria. This time he was here not only to raise funds for Israel and check out the political

fulfilled his agreements with Israel and the United States. As would anyone trying to win an argument, he skated past other facts, such as Syria's repeated betrayal of deals with fellow Arabs on Lebanon.

But one reason that peace is possible on the Golan now is that Mr. Rabin understands Syria. Syria is a place of controlled malice. Syria is more than a state; it is a police state, and an efficient and brutal one.

Mr. Rabin talks about dealing with Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians as if he were talking about coping with a high school cafeteria food fight. With Syria, he is negotiating over a seated black-tie banquet that can proceed only when all the diners' guns have been checked. Everything must be in place before the first course gets served.

That means that Mr. Assad has to do his part — which he hasn't. Assad has not done 1 percent of what he has to do to convince the Israeli people that

# Fathers Simply Must Make Time

By William Raspberry

WASHINGTON — The formal interview is winding down, and Henry Cisneros gives in to a moment of candor. "One of the most important things we have to do," says the secretary of housing and urban development, "is to find ways to re-engage fathers in the lives of their children."

It's not what I had expected at the end of a conversation that focused on the effect of

"There's beauty and wonder in that," he says, "but there are also the boys whose mothers, try as they might, cannot overcome the influence of the street, of the male group, of the gang."

"I believe the connection between man and child — son or daughter — is very, very important," he says. "I speak here from sad personal experience. I, as you know, had some very difficult decisions to make about my own personal life. My marriage wasn't doing well, wasn't holding together, and there seemed to be great reason to, perhaps, break it apart. And I finally concluded that the most important thing in my life was the obligation to my children."

"Every time I think about what ... other decisions I might have made," he says, "I can't get around the question of which decision would allow me to spend the most time with my son. I can't tell you how important that is to me, and ... to him, too."

What Mr. Cisneros is talking about is not just the warm fuzzy feelings generated in Norman Rockwellian father-child relationships. He is talking about the virtually insurmountable difficulty of raising straight and confident children — especially boys —

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Muslims, Serbs, Croats

Vanita Singh (Letters, Nov. 4) gives a misleading account of secular, democratic and multicultural Bosnia-Herzegovina. The criteria set by the European Community for awarding recognition to the former republics of Yugoslavia, together with safeguards for the rights of all ethnic communities enshrined in the referendum held in April 1992, formed the basis on which Bosnia was admitted to the United Nations.

Some elements of the Bosnian Serbs who allowed themselves to be used by President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia for advancing his designs of a Greater Serbia did not participate in the referendum and acted as his surrogates to unleash a proxy war of aggression with the support of the Serbian-led army of former Yugoslavia.

The harmony maintained among the ethnic mix of Bosnians who are putting up a united struggle against Serbian aggression has reflected the true spirit of the United Nations. The Bosnian government comprises all three communities. The presidency is to be held alternately by a Bosnian, a Croat, and a Serb. The current president, Alija Izetbegovic, is due to be replaced by Kresimir Zubak, a former Croatian judge, as soon as the state of emergency created by the war is ended.

S.A. MOID, London.

Army in the Bihac pocket is entirely justifiable. The 5th Corps poses a serious threat to peace in Bosnia and must be dismantled. In August, the 5th Corps forced 30,000 Muslims to flee their homes after defeating the forces of the Muslim opposition leader, Fikret Abdic. Three weeks ago the 5th Corps attacked and destroyed Serbian villages south of Bihac, resulting in 10,000 Serbian refugees.

By defeating the 5th Corps, the Bosnian Serbs will hopefully convince the Bosnian Muslim leaders in Sarajevo that the Bosnian conflict can be resolved only by negotiation and not by force.

GEORGE TINTOR, London.

the PKK and its offshoots are banned in France and Germany, and Interpol tracks PKK activities across the world.

The Turkish armed forces in southeastern Turkey are working within a framework of law to overcome terrorism. It is time that democratic countries showed greater support and understanding for one another in confronting the men of violence.

MERIH KILIGASLAN, Press Counselor, Turkish Embassy, London.

### Who Is Disinterested?

In response to "Defining the U.S. Interest" (Letters, Nov. 15):

The United States does not have a monopoly on "self-interest" when it comes to interventions and problem solving. I cannot think of one state in history which has operated solely out of altruism.

PATRICIA GREER, Stonehaven, Scotland.

### Parole for a Terrorist

In response to "Red Army Is Now History. So Germany Orders a Parole," (Nov. 18):

She has shown no remorse for her part in a 1972 attack on a U.S. base, but Imgard Moller is to be freed nevertheless. While they're at it, maybe the German courts could make the three slain American servicemen "undead." A life sentence for random terror, right or left, should never be anything less than a life sentence.

BILLIE ANN LOPEZ, Vienna.

### Turkey and Terrorism

Regarding the report "War on Kurds Strains Turkey's Ties to Allies" (Nov. 18):

Turkey is not fighting a war against its ethnic Kurds, who are an integrated, active and central element in Turkish society. We are seeking to defeat a ruthless terrorist movement and to protect the great majority of the Kurdish community in southeastern Turkey from attacks that have murdered local civilians by the thousands. A spokesman for the PKK terrorists recently described Kurds who differ from his organization's objectives as "not human" — which is presumably how they justify their atrocities.

Farmers and teachers, lawyers, men of religion and health workers are regularly killed in cold blood by the PKK. Its members extort money from Turkish citizens in Europe and North America. That is why

Regarding the editorial on the UN-NATO strike against an air base used by Serbs in Croatia, "A Useful Operation" (Nov. 23):

The Bosnian Serb counteroffensive against the 5th Corps of the Bosnian

## BOOKS

### A CHOSEN FEW:

The Resurrection of European Jewry  
By Mark Kurlansky. 409 pages.  
\$24. Addison-Wesley.

Reviewed by Joan Dupont

WHEN the war was over in Europe, survivors from the camps headed home, even if it took months to get there and there was no home left. Writers like Primo Levi and Elie Wiesel have retraced those journeys; their testimony has been honored, their words remembered. But what of the others, the unnamed heroes who went back to the ruins in silence?

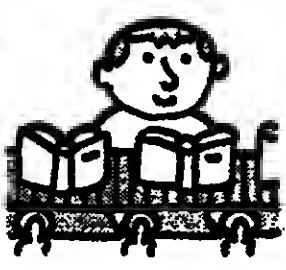
After the war, Sal Meijer returned to Amsterdam where he

### WHAT THEY'RE READING

James Tate, whose "Worshipful Company of Fletchers" won the 1994 National Book Award for Poetry, is reading "The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865-1883."

"I am usually reading 20 books at the same time about history, or philosophy, or whatever subject you can think of, and this is the one that I'll mention since you asked me."

(Lawrence Markin, IHT)



opened a kosher butcher shop. Now he spends nights alone in his apartment, screaming. "Suddenly, in his 80s, he could no longer stay silent about the Holocaust and what had hap-

member of the Marxist regime who became an outcast overnight. After the Wall went down, Runge lost her university job because she had been an informer for the Stasi. Although she remained an atheist, she hosts Seder, supervised by "a virulent anti-Communist religious traditionalist from the ultra-Orthodox Lubavitcher sect." The Lubavitchers with their missionary zeal of "near Christian proportions" have found fertile ground in Eastern Europe, where Jews for the first time in their lives are trying to learn about Judaism.

The Pietel (Yiddish for settlement) in Paris, better known as the Marais, with its mix of cooking smells from central Europe and North Africa, is wonderfully described. We get the history of the Finkelsteins, who run the best deli on Rue des Rosiers, and the Naum brothers who started out selling carp and went on to make smoked salmon the chic dish at Parisian dinner parties.

The author spends affectionate detail on his chosen few — Zionists, Orthodox, Reform and secular Jews, all seeking a sense of community — he talks about the marvels of kosher vodka in Poland, filmmaking in Hungary, jazz in Czechoslovakia. But he hasn't much to say about French culture and is critical of the assimilated Jews who have always been a significant part of the French scene. Pierre Mendes-France is put down for his refusal to show favor to Jewish causes; there is surely more to say about this fascinating man who suffered humiliation and jail under Vichy. And not a word about Claude Lanzmann's "Shoah," one of the most important French films of the last decade, which takes place on the very ground this book explores.

Kurlansky has written a timely and tendentious book, almost as provocative for what it excludes as for the territory it covers.

International Herald Tribune

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## CHESS

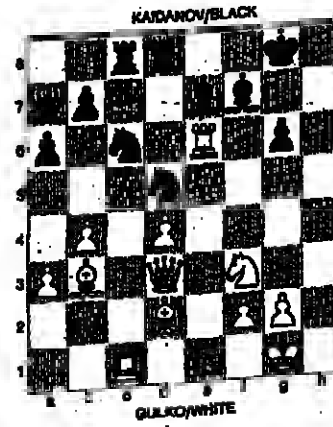
By Robert Byrne

BORIS GULKO won the 1994 United States Championship. In Round 8 he beat Gregory Kaidanov.

With 3...Nf6, Kaidanov transposed into a gambit that also arises in the Center Counter Game after 1 e4 d5 2 ed Nf6 3 o4 c6. Gulko declined the pawn offer with 4 d4. And after 4...cd 5 Nc3 e6 6 Nf3, the game settled into a main line of the Semi-Tarrasch Defense.

The chief feature of the position after 7 cd Nd5 is the isolated d4 pawn. It has always been supposed to offer White some chances for a mating attack because it makes possible superior control of central space.

The move 10...Bf6 is one of the preferred courses of completing Black's development.



Most attention has gone into 11 B4 Nc6 7 12 Ne5 g6 13 Bh6 Bg7 14 Bg7 Kg7 15 Qf3 with a slight advantage in freedom of movement for White. But perhaps 11 a3, which Gulko uses in this game, is stronger. For one thing, reduction of material with 11...Nd4 12 Nd4 Bd4 13

Bh7 Kh7 14 Qd4 Nc3 15 Qc3 f6 16 Be3 does not solve Black's problems; his king is a bit exposed and White remains a lead in development.

The trouble with Kaidanov's 11...Bd7 12 Bc2 Rd8 13 Ne4 Be7 14 Qd3 g6 was its passivity; its threat of 15...Nc4 16 ab Nb4 was stopped by 15 Bd2. Gulko's 16 b4 seized queenside space without diminishing his chances for attack against the black king.

While Kaidanov floundered about with 21...Qa7, Gulko struck a smashing blow with 22 hg hg 23 Ne6! fe 24 Re6.

Kaidanov tried 24...Bf7, but Gulko tore through that defense with 25 Rg6! Kaidanov could not accept the sacrifice with 25...Bg6 because 26 Qg6 Kh8 27 Bc2 Nf6 28 Ng5 Rf8 29 Qh6 Kg8 30 Bb3 forces mate.

On 26...Ke8 27 Re1, Kaidanov overstepped the time limit and was forfeited. But there was nothing he could have done to ward off Gulko's overwhelming onslaught. The main threat was 28 Qf5 followed by 29 Rb8 mate. On 27...Kd7 28 Qf5 Kc7 29 Qf7, there would have been no way to put the Humpty-Dumpty of the black position together.

Position after 24...Bf7  
QUEEN'S GAMBIT DECLINED

White	Black	White	Black
1 e4	d5	13 Bc2	Re8
2 ed	Nf6	14 Qd3	g6
3 o4	c6	15 Bd2	Bf7
4 d4	cd	16 b4	Bd7
5 Nc3	e6	17 Bc2	Rd8
6 Nf3	g6	18 Ne4	Be7
7 cd	Nd5	19 Qd3	g6
8 Bg5	g6	20 Ng5	Rf8
9 o-o	O-O	21 Qa7	Bf7
10 Re1	Bf6	22 Rg6	Bg6
11 a3	Re8	23 hg	hg
12 Nd4	Be7	24 Re6	Ke8
		25 Rg6	Kh8
		26 Qg6	Kh8
		27 Bc2	Nf6
		28 Ng5	Rf8
		29 Qh6	Kg8
		30 Bb3	mate

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## PLO Talks To Israel On Voting

**Arafat and Peres Seek Donors' Aid**

BRUSSELS — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel and Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, discussed prospects for elections in the occupied territories and urged donors Monday to pump funds into the region to bring stability.

Flanked by Mr. Peres, Mr. Arafat said the two sides hoped to overcome "all of the problems we had so that we have the opportunity to have free elections in all the Palestinian territories."

"The Israelis understand our need for quick elections," he added at the Brussels news conference, "but at the same time we also have to understand the necessity for security."

Under the limited self-rule accord signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, elections were to have taken place in July in the Gaza Strip and Jericho and parts of the West Bank still administered by Israel.

But talks bogged down over the nature and size of the elected assembly and whether Palestinian groups that rejected the self-rule deal should be allowed to seek office.

Fourteen people were killed Nov. 18 in clashes between Palestinian police and demonstrators in Gaza, the worst internal violence since Palestinian self-rule began in May.

Mr. Peres said negotiations had reopened in Brussels over when voting should take place.

"Today we have agreed on an agenda. I don't think that we need to negotiate publicly," he said, adding, "Basically, whatever is democratic is acceptable to us."

Mr. Peres and Mr. Arafat said they would pressure a meeting of donors that starts Tuesday in Brussels to provide the money they promised to rebuild the occupied territories.

The donors' last meeting broke down in disagreement over the Palestinians' inclusion of Jerusalem in projects that should be supported.

Palestinians consider East Jerusalem, which is mainly Arab, to be the capital of a future state, but Israel says that East and West Jerusalem are united and remain its "eternal capital."

In 1993, donors pledged more than \$2 billion over five years for projects in the occupied territories, with \$700 million to be paid out this year.

"We have only received \$60 million so far because some countries did not keep their commitments," Mr. Arafat said.

## Hong Kong Poll Pegs Governor As a Lame Duck

HONG KONG — Nearly half of the people of Hong Kong believe that Governor Chris Patten no longer has a useful job in the days before the British colony reverts to Chinese rule in mid-1997, a local newspaper reported on Monday.

Despite seeing Mr. Patten as a lame duck, 68 percent of those interviewed said his performance as governor was satisfactory, compared with 26 percent who said it was not, the newspaper said. Mr. Patten has repeatedly insisted he expects to stay until the British flag is lowered for the last time over Hong Kong in 1997.

An opinion poll found that 47 percent of respondents saw little role for Mr. Patten, who has been involved in a protracted debate with China over electoral changes he secured for the city, the South China Morning Post reported.

China, which said Mr. Patten changes violated agreements London had with Beijing, has said that when it takes over, it will dismantle all three tiers of representative government in the territory elected under the reforms.



**BITTER HOMECOMING** — Zairian soldiers handing over 38 Rwandan Hutu to troops of Rwanda's Tutsi-led army. They were rounded up as part of a crackdown on Hutu militiamen, who control the refugee camps in Zaire. The United Nations has protested the forced repatriation of the Hutu, saying it was against international law.

## NORWAY: Exit Polls Show Anti-EU Votes Taking a 'Wafer-Thin' Lead

Continued from Page 1

by joining the bandwagon for open trade and access to markets. If it did not, it would be left behind and isolated in the company of Switzerland, Iceland and Lichtenstein.

"We would be the only industrial country in Europe not to join, except for Switzerland which has a long history of neutrality while we've been a NATO member for 45 years," said Inge Lønning, a theology professor who heads the European Movement, the main group promoting a "yes" vote.

"In 1972, when we rejected membership, we were at the starting point of our oil. Now we're at the last chapter. Production will go down. Gas will stay high but will be able to sell it? How about the fisheries? If Sweden is in the European Union and Norway is out, then fish products sold to

Sweden would have a tax of 25 percent put on them."

The "yes" forces also promoted the idea that Norway's security would be enhanced inside the EU, which could lead its support should trouble arise in its northernmost province of Finnmark, which borders Russia. The concern is for nuclear pollution and possible civil unrest across the boundary.

The main support for joining came from intellectuals, businessmen and professionals, many of them in Oslo and Bergen, the second city. That fact alone was enough to raise a question mark in the minds of the independent-minded folk in rural areas, who bridle under what they view as excessive interference from the capital.

"Already our government is big enough," said Jan Rønning, an agriculture student who voted no. "Why make it

bigger? Oslo is already far away. Why go all the way to Brussels?"

Polls have shown that a mainstay of antagonism to joining Europe comes from women, who are strong in both the work force and the political life.

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, who is immensely popular, swung her weight decidedly behind the advocates for European union, improving in a final broadcast before the election: "Be responsible. Vote 'yes' for Norway's sake." But she has pointedly avoided turning the referendum into a vote of confidence in her minority government.

The Labor Party, which she heads, is largely in favor of the union, while the Center Party, which has a strong agricultural base, is opposed, along with the smaller Socialist Left.

## COUSINS: One Became a Palestinian 'Martyr,' the Other Struggles On

Continued from Page 1

expect from him?" Mr. Abatli said he, too, "would also rather die for a good cause" than continue in his present existence. "I wish I would be a martyr," he said.

But Mr. Abatli has not chosen to blow himself up, and it is difficult to believe that he will — especially difficult when his 5-year-old daughter prances up and hugs him around the knee.

Here in Kalkiya, 25 kilometers (15 miles) northeast of Tel Aviv, Mr. Souwi is a famous man, maybe the most famous. When the people talk about the thing he did, they do not call it murder. They call it "the operation," and they account it a great one.

At the Taymiya mosque, where Mr. Souwi prayed, a knot of young men gathered around a visitor. They gave no names. In the occupied West Bank, few speak openly of things that attract the Shin Bet. But without dissent, in comments echoed from encounter to random encounter, they spoke of Mr. Souwi with pride and even awe.

"Everybody in the mosque respected him," said a bearded man. "I would say he was a beloved person. He had good manners. He never harmed anybody."

Never? Not in Tel Aviv? The bearded man stiffened. He did not like the question. He had only one thing more to say. "We lost a good man," he replied, then walked away.

Another man cut in, a bit younger, excited. "We are very happy for him because he was one of the first to be a martyr," he said. "He preceded us to be a martyr. For sure, he will be an image for many others. Write it down that we are all Hamas."

Everyone knew, the young men said, that Mr. Souwi had

joined Hamas, an acronym in Arabic for the Islamic Resistance Movement. They also knew he had joined the movement's quasi-military wing, the Izzedine al-Qassam Brigades.

The Shin Bet had some inkling about Mr. Souwi. For four days in April, it sent soldiers to his door.

"Your son is wanted," the soldiers told Abdel Rahim Souwi.

It was too late. The old man's first-born child had gone to ground.

Of Mr. Souwi's childhood,

be driven from all Palestine, "from the river to the sea."

Records obtained from another cousin, Jamal Abatli, a local lawyer, show Mr. Souwi was first arrested on Sept. 13, 1988. He was held until Sept. 30 and released without charge.

The Shin Bet, as is its habit, said only that he had committed "security violations."

Mr. Souwi never said much to friends or relatives of what had happened to him.

"He never tried to make me worry," his father said. "He said he was O.K., or he would

throw a bottle when a soldier shot him in the head."

Salah helped carry Hussein to his mother, dead. "She had to see him before they buried him," Mr. Abu Samara said.

From that day, Mr. Abatli said, Mr. Souwi's "blood was boiling." He said, "I had the feeling that he lost his meaning for life."

Just once after that, Mr. Abatli said, Mr. Souwi alluded to what would come. "I wish I would be a martyr," he said.

Mr. Abatli did not know whether to believe him.

Mr. Souwi was detained again for nearly a year beginning in the summer of 1990. In detention, he and Mr. Abatli chose to "become organized." They studied their choices deliberately, reading pamphlets and programs and talking to leaders inside.

Mr. Abatli chose the Red Eagles, the fighting arm of the leftist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Mr. Souwi, far more religious, chose Hamas.

"They talked about death in God's name, and I can imagine how this would appeal to Salah," Mr. Abatli said.

In the next four years, Mr. Souwi was in and out of detention. Even when free, he grew mysterious. He went home less often, told nearly nothing to his parents of what he did. But he made time to go to Mr. Abatli's wedding, and he later dated his cousin's children. The oldest daughter, Alla, became his favorite.

"When we told her that he died, I explained to her that he did an operation in Tel Aviv, and he killed many Jews, and I told her that it was a good thing that he did," Mr. Abatli said. "I explained to her that they took our lands, and she asked why, and I said I don't know, they just took it."

What do you expect from Salah?" asked his cousin. "His brother was killed, he was detained five times, he was tortured."

his friends and family produce only ordinary tales.

As a teenager, Mr. Souwi learned to farm. He learned from Jews, in Israel, as a seasonal laborer outside Netanya.

He moved in and out of his father's now-destroyed house, where he shared a single room with all his siblings. In planting season he borrowed money and bought seeds for cucumbers and tomatoes. He built greenhouses and slept in them with his plants, then sold his crop to the wholesalers in Kalkiya's market square.

When the intifada began in 1987, Mr. Souwi and Mr. Abatli joined in the roving bands of youths who ebbed and flowed into clashes with Israel's army.

That same year, a new fundamentalist mosque, the Taymiya, was erected in Mr. Souwi's neighborhood. He went to hear the imam, and he spent long hours in the library, according to friends. He learned a radical reading of Islam and a political program saying the Jews must

manage. But we know for sure, interrogation is not a coffee shop. He didn't need to tell us.

Wahj Abatli, who went through the same detention cells as Mr. Souwi some time later, said he and his cousin were held in solitary cells, blindfolded and bound, and left without food or drink for two days. They soiled themselves, having no choice, sometime on the first day. On other days, they were beaten, he said.

Human rights organizations, although not aware of Mr. Souwi's case in particular, said Mr. Abatli's account fit a common Israeli interrogation scheme. The Shin Bet does not grant interviews. Through an anonymous spokesman, it declined to discuss Mr. Souwi's case, but said torture was forbidden.

The year after his first arrest, two blocks from the home where he grew up, Salah Souwi joined his brother Hussein in another confrontation with the army. According to Riyadh Abu Samara, who took part in the clash, Hussein was trying to

of U.S. sovereignty and control over the nation's economic destiny to a potentially hostile instrument of world government.

As Mr. Clinton sees it, new rules expanding trade opportunities for the strongest U.S. industries should be a cause for celebration.

"Since the United States has the most productive and competitive economy in the world, that is good news for our workers and our future," he said last week.

## Dissident Detained By Tehran Is Dead

New York Times Service

TEHRAN — The leading dissident writer in Iran has died in detention, eight months after being charged with drug abuse and espionage. Iranian authorities said Ali Akbar Seidi Sirjani, 63, died of a heart attack.

Mr. Sirjani was arrested in March and had not been allowed to have a defense attorney or a trial.

He wrote more than 15 books on Iranian history and legend, many of them best-sellers, in which he analyzed the differences between Iran's heritage and Islamic culture. His contention that Iranians had a pre-Islamic tradition of respect for individual rights and of fighting tyranny led to the banning of his books in 1991.

He is the fourth political prisoner to die in custody since the 1979 Iranian revolution.

Brigadier General Amir Rahimi, 75, the former head of Iran's military police after the revolution, was arrested this month after demanding the release of political prisoners. His 30-year-old son was arrested last week after objecting to his father's imprisonment.

"The aged Iranian author, Seidi Sirjani, who was hospitalized last night after a heart attack died this morning," the official Iranian news agency, IRNA, said Sunday.

Sayeh Sirjani, the author's 26-year-old daughter, said her father had no history of heart ailments. The Sirjani family had denied the allegations that he was addicted to drugs.

"The allegations against Sirjani were not at all convincing," said a Tehran University history professor who spoke on condition of anonymity. "First, they arrested him on drug charges; then, they made political accusations, like espionage. The regime has chosen to depict Iranian intellectuals as atheists and traitors instead of engaging in a logical dialogue."

Mr. Sirjani had fought the ban on his books by writing letters to senior officials and by speaking to Western reporters.

His most celebrated novel, "The Serpent-Shouldered Zakh," was about a foreign conqueror whose reign of terror in Iran ended with a popular uprising. It sold more than 80,000 copies in 1991.

Mr. Souwi was detained again for nearly a year beginning in the summer of 1990. In detention, he and Mr. Abatli chose to "become organized." They studied their choices deliberately, reading pamphlets and programs and talking to leaders inside.

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3 Villas Blown Up in Corsica

Reuters

AJACCIO, Corsica — Hooded gunmen blew up three vacation villas after evacuating occupants in the beach resort of Lumio during the night, the police said Monday. No one immediately claimed responsibility for the attack, which bore the hallmarks of separatist guerrillas fighting for the island's independence from France.

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## Spanish Airports Paralyzed by Strike

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MADRID — Spanish airports were paralyzed Monday as workers of the national carrier Iberia walked off the job to protest the company's plan to slash jobs and sell assets.

The strike grounded all flights by Iberia. It also grounded flights from Spain by other international airlines and seriously delayed scheduled flights from abroad.

A representative for one of the striking unions said workers would return to work at midnight if there were no breakdown in talks with management. But the chairman of the airline, Javier Salas Collantes, said there was little Iberia could do to lessen the austerity package's impact.

Iberia said the strike affected 100,000 people and was responsible for the cancellation of 1,125 flights. Workers carried out no minimum services.

Only airlines with their own handling facilities, including TWA, American Airlines and the Spanish companies Spanair and Air Europa, could maintain something close to normal service during the strike.

Passengers on incoming trans-Atlantic flights were able to transfer, but their baggage remained in aircraft holds.

Hundreds of passengers nevertheless turned up for flights at the international airports in Madrid and Barcelona.

Police units patrolled terminals across the country, but no incidents were reported. At Barajas Airport in Madrid, unions held rallies every two hours in the main hall as passengers holed up in lounges.

The unions rejected the wage conditions, saying Iberia first must honor some 15 billion pesetas in back-pay agreements. (AP, Reuters)

The Associated Press

MADISON, Wisconsin — Jeffrey Dahmer, who had confessed to murdering 17 men and boys and to cannibalizing some of them, was attacked and killed Monday while working in a prison bathroom.

A corrections department spokesman, Joe Scislowicz, said that Mr. Dahmer, 34, had "very severe, extensive head injuries" and died at a hospital.

A fellow inmate was taken into custody at the prison, said Michael Sullivan, the state corrections secretary. A bloody broom handle was found at the scene, but Mr. Sullivan did not know if it had been used to kill Mr. Dahmer.

Mr. Dahmer, 34, was cleaning a bathroom at the Columbia Correctional Institute when he was attacked. Jesse Anderson, a fellow inmate who had been convicted of beating his wife to death, suffered serious head injuries in the assault. The suspect was working with them, Mr. Sullivan said.

A guard overseeing the three inmates on clean-up duty had just left the basketball court adjoining the bathroom when the attack occurred, Mr. Sullivan said.

Mr. Dahmer, convicted in all but one of the sex killings in Milwaukee and Ohio, was serving 16 consecutive life sentences at the prison in Portage, about 40 miles (65 kilometers) north of Madison.

He said he had picked up young men and boys at gay bars, shopping malls and other public places, lured them to his Milwaukee apartment and strangled and dismembered them. Skulls and other body parts were found in his apartment.

Mr. Dahmer admitted that he had sex with four corpses and saved the heart of one "to eat later."

His activities came to light in July 1991, when a handcuffed, bloody youth flagged down police and led officers to Mr. Dahmer's apartment. They found body parts throughout, including severed heads in the refrigerator.

Envoys of the contact group reportedly met Monday with President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia to try to revive the peace process.

Diplomats said the contact group mission carried details of major incentives to Mr. Milosevic and the Bosnian Serbs to cooperate. Diplomatic sources said Bosnian Serbs would be offered the right to confederation with Serbian-led Yugoslavia, one of their goals, in return for accepting a peace plan they rejected in August. (Reuters, AP, AFP)

Germany bore the initial brunt of the blame after it imposed diplomatic recognition of Croatia on its European partners in January 1992, a step criticized as rash by Washington and the rest of Europe.

When similar recognition was extended to Bosnia, the Serbian minority there revolted. France blamed Britain for

blocking European military action, then watched resentfully as U.S. help was sought.

Gradually, European governments, stung by the rhetoric in Washington of accusing UN peacekeepers of passivity in the genocide, countered that U.S. refusal to commit ground troops was responsible for the international failure in Bosnia.

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Australia	0061-000-0000	Greece	0030-000-0000	Japan (Nagasaki)	0066-55-899	Poland	0048-000-0000	U.K.	0044-000-0000
Australia (Optus)	0061-000-0000	Hong Kong	00852-000-0000	Japan (Sapporo)	0066-55-900	Portugal	00351-000-0000	Ukraine	00380-000-0000
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Bahamas	001-800-389-3111	India	0091-000-0000	Japan (Hiroshima)	0066-55-933	Saudi Arabia	00966-000-0000	Yemen	00967-000-0000
Barbados	001-800-377-3000	Indonesia	0062-000-0000	Japan (Kyoto)	0066-55-944	Spain	0034-000-0000		
Belize	00501-000-0000	Israel	00972-000-0000	Japan (Nagasaki)	0066-55-955	Sweden	0046-000-0000		
Bermuda	001-800-120-14	Italy	0039-000-0000	Japan (Osaka)	0066-55-966	Switzerland	0041-000-0000		
Bhutan	00975-000-0000	Japan	0081-000-0000	Japan (Sapporo)	0066-55-977	Taiwan	00886-000-0000		
Bolivia	00591-000-0000	Kenya	00254-000-0000	Japan (Yokohama)	0066-55-988	Thailand	0066-000-0000		
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Chile	0056-000-0000	Norway	0047-000-0000	Japan (Sapporo)	0066-55-044	Vietnam	0084-000-0000		
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China (Taiwanese)	0086-000-0000	Philippines (Manila)	0063-000-0000	Japan (Kyoto)	0066-55-088				
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Versace's plasticized silver suit; DKNY Neoprene dress, and Saint Laurent's sparkling sweater and satin pants.

## The Shining: A Season of Glitter

By Suzy Menkes  
International Herald Tribune

**P**ARIS — Fashion has taken a shine to scintillating fabrics. The thread that links the disparate styles of the current season is gleam and glitter.

The Shining comes in two categories: traditional and futuristic. The first suggests the conventional glamour of liquid satin or sparkling lurex.

For the holiday season, that means a simple dress or a knitted tube — or perhaps a combination of two different materials.

Hot items at all price levels are glitter knits and satin pants — either in shiny stretch satin, disco-style, or satin-stripe tuxedo trousers.

For a refined version of the look, Yves Saint Laurent showed satin pants and a sparkling sweater. Ralph Lauren teamed

pastel cashmere knitwear with A-line satin skirts. Isaac Mizrahi's sweater set went with a big ball skirt, in the best tradition of American sportswear.

A tougher take on shine comes in the revival of patent leather for shoes, boots or even for blouson jackets, with Christian Lacroix creating a shiny, gilded-leather jacket in one glam-slam.

Futuristic shine depends rather on synthetic fabrics. Vinyl and plastic — last used in the space-age 1960s — give a harder and sexually predatory look to the basic silhouettes found in softer materials.

Helmut Lang's plastic slip dress, lace-patterned like a wipe-down tablecloth, and the Austrian designer's shiny T-shirts, set a trend for mean-street, urban style.

You find the same look at a luxury level from Gianni Versace, whose plastic-coated silks and leathers are the ultimate in winter glamour.

The Italian designer showed all the essential items, from the high-gloss belted trench coat through wet-look slip dresses, jeans and boots.

His combination of metallic-leather skirt and fluffy sweater with snowflakes of glitter has been a supermodel favorite off the runway.

Versace also used metal mesh, a byproduct of the aircraft industry, and sprayed leather with metallic paint like a 1950s Cadillac.

Donna Karan also had techno-vision for her ball gown in Neoprene known for diving wet suits.

The shiny fabrics are a reversal of the 1990s enthusiasm for all things ecological, beige and natural. As a top-to-toe look it may be a short-lived trend. But in a holiday season filled with Victorian nostalgia, fashion is at least facing up to the new millennium.

### SHOP WATCH

## Flagship For Doc Martens

### London Launch For Hip Shoes

**L**ONDON — It is a long way from the metal-tipped boot of a downtown skinhead to the height of hip fashion. But Dr. Martens — the creator of airy soles in heavy shoes — has made that leap.

When the first Dr. Martens store opened in London's Covent Garden on Wednesday, it was not just a new shopping opportunity, but a fashion event.

The new-wave music duo Shampoo posed in pink (leather boots and boots). Simon le Bon checked out the mini-footwear for his kids. And an auction of autographed boots raised money for a children's charity. Since the store was packed with alternative college groups and their fans, Madonna's boots inevitably raised more bids than Liz Taylor's. (Does the vintage Hollywood star really plot out in Dr. Martens?)

In keeping with its gritty, industrial image, the five-floor flagship store has bare brick walls, exposed metal girders and wire-mesh stairway. Downstairs is a cafe called Doctor's Orders and upstairs, genuine work wear, the casual clothes range, launched in 1993, and a hairdresser (you too can become a punk or skinhead).

Goliath-sized boots worn by Elton John in the rock-opera film "Tommy" dominated the entrance. The store's varied footwear includes not just the clumpy boots, universally known as "Doc Martens," but glitter and neo-hippie patterns recalling the glam-rock years.

The fashion show at the launch party started with kids rapping down the runway. But the plaid shirts and baggy work wear just look like regular youth-culture clothes and lack the kick of the footwear.

T-shirts photocopied with the famous boots fulfill Dr. Martens' aim to be a theme-park tourist attraction, complete with streetwise souvenirs.

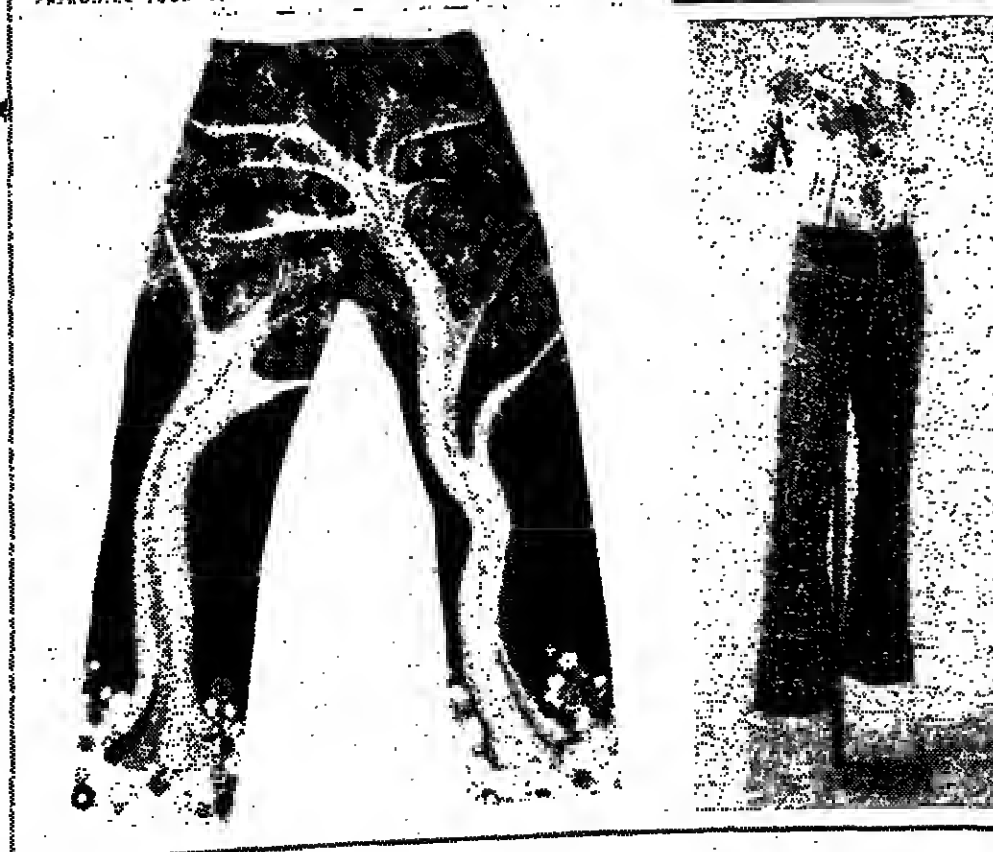
1-4 King Street, Covent Garden, London WC2.

Suzy Menkes

The pop duo Shampoo, top, and Elton John's boots from "Tommy."



## The West grew up in Levi's



## The Story of Jeans and How They Grew

**P**ARIS — If authenticity is the Holy Grail of style, then fashion is its poisoned chalice. What designers did to jeans in the 1980s — like a shocking pink tweed and blue denim Chanel jacket — proves how wise it is to let classics well alone.

The "Histoires du Jeans" exhibition at the Palais Galliera costume museum (until March 12) shows the indestructible power of the Real Thing. It opens with a chambery work shirt from 1915, which designers from Giorgio Armani to Calvin Klein would be proud to claim as

Levi's ad for jeans in 1950s; customized, tree-of-life embroidered 1973 jeans, bottom left, and eye-let-studded hippie jeans.

their own — and which could be in any stylish modern closet.

It ends with a torture chamber of designer takes on denim — a cotton fabric that did not even take its name from the French *serge de Nîmes* (woolen work wear), but is essentially American. The myth of the West on celluloid and in reality is shown in blown-up pictures. But the jeans themselves hang in a dimly lit display looking as lost and lonely as a cowboy without his horse. It may be fascinating to compare rivets and studs now and then, or to see how early Levi's produced the classic blouson jacket (in 1936), but the pioneer garments in the show could do with some fresh prairie air.

Photographs show the evolution of the Western myth, as a wholesome jeans-clad American family with hatch-back emerges in the 1950s, along with a

curvaceous Marilyn Monroe introducing sex-and-denim.

The concept of jeans as a symbol of sexual freedom and sartorial rebellion never quite comes across, even if the exhibits include David Bowie's denim jockstrap flashed with sequins. There is a striking image of anti-Vietnam War demonstrators in Washington in 1971, just as be-jeaned legs were later to breach the Berlin Wall. A lively section celebrates the hippie era when jeans were customized with embroidery, eye-lets or a magnificent appliqué of a tree of life, with roots at the ankles and branches sprawling over the hips.

From a stylish and witty pair of 1973 platform-soled denim boots, printed with the word "jeans," it is a small step to designer denim. That started with the American sportswear designer Claire McCardell in 1943, who made graceful

shirtwaist dresses in jeans fabric.

In the 1980s section, there are some creative, ironic and subversive fashion statements — although nothing to match punk denim scrawled with angry slogans. Franco Moschino's denim priest's surplice (made for an ad campaign) has the power to shock: Vivienne Westwood's slash-and-pull jeans is a witty take on the familiar frayed/torn jeans.

Jean-Paul Gaultier brings the history of jeans full circle. The curvy frock coat he made in denim in 1994 harks back to one of the earliest items in the exhibition: a frock coat dating from 1830, when denim was just utilitarian work wear without the subsequent emotional and cultural baggage.

S. M.

### Les Roses de Noël

Motifs d'oreilles, or, corail et brillants.

Broche or, corail, et brillants.

*Van Cleef & Arpels*

"Il est des signatures auxquelles on tient."

Van Cleef & Arpels PARIS 22, place Vendôme Tél: 42 61 58 58 GENEVE 31, Rue du Rhône. Tél: 311 60 70

## THE NEWSPAPER OF RECORD FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MUTUAL FUND INDUSTRY

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# Bayer Says Cuts In Employment Helped Net Rise

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
LEVERKUSEN, Germany — Bayer AG's third-quarter pretax profit soared 61 percent as job cuts and increased investment pushed up productivity, the company said Monday.

The German chemicals giant said profit rose to 630 million Deutsche marks (\$420 million) from 392 million DM a year earlier.

Sales rose 5.8 percent to 10.59 billion DM, with the strongest showing coming from Latin America and Asia.

Manfred Schneider, the chairman, predicted pretax profit for the full year would

rise about 36 percent from last year, to 3.2 billion DM. He also announced that Bayer would probably raise its full-year dividend for 1994 from 11 DM a share paid in 1993.

Mr. Schneider also said the company would probably make a major acquisition in the United States in the first quarter of 1995. He refused to give details.

Bayer shares rose 4.30 DM to 344.30.

The company attributed the profit gain to measures taken to increase efficiency, as well as higher volume sales and rising capacity use.

Since the beginning of 1994, Bayer has slashed employment by 3,400, to around 147,000. It also has invested 2.2 billion DM in factories and equipment and plans to invest a total of 3 billion DM by the end of the year.

"Prices are still unsatisfactory, but we nevertheless expect the current satisfactory improvement in profits to continue," it said.

(AP, Bloomberg, AFP)

## EU Rail Plans Face Cash Crunch

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
BRUSSELS — The European Union's ambitious plans to build high-speed rail networks linking cities across the 12-nation bloc faces a cash shortfall, EU officials said Monday.

Spending on the 14 transportation projects has been estimated at total 91 billion European Currency Units (\$111 billion), according to an EU report.

The European Commission said full financing had been secured for only three of the 14 projects, with most of the money coming from the private sector.

Loans would be provided by the European Investment Bank, and the commission has set aside 450 million Ecu a year in grants.

But Henning Christophersen, the economic affairs commissioner, urged EU leaders meeting in Essen, Germany, on Dec. 9 and 10 to endorse the plan.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

# Rebirth of Potsdamer Platz Project Aims to Make Berlin One Again

By Ferdinand Protzman  
New York Times Service

BERLIN — Potsdamer Platz was the busiest public square in Europe and the heart of Berlin before World War II left it in ruins. During the Cold War, it became a grassy "no man's land" bisected by the Berlin Wall.

Now the cornerstone has been laid on the biggest private-sector construction project in German history.

More than any other construction project scattered across Berlin, more even than the German government's plans to move the capital here from Bonn by the end of the decade, the Potsdamer Platz project is a symbol of Berlin's renewal and its struggle to establish an identity as the capital of a united Germany.

If the reconstruction of Potsdamer Platz's seven hectares (17 acres) succeeds, it will create a lively urban center joining the city's still disparate Eastern and Western halves.

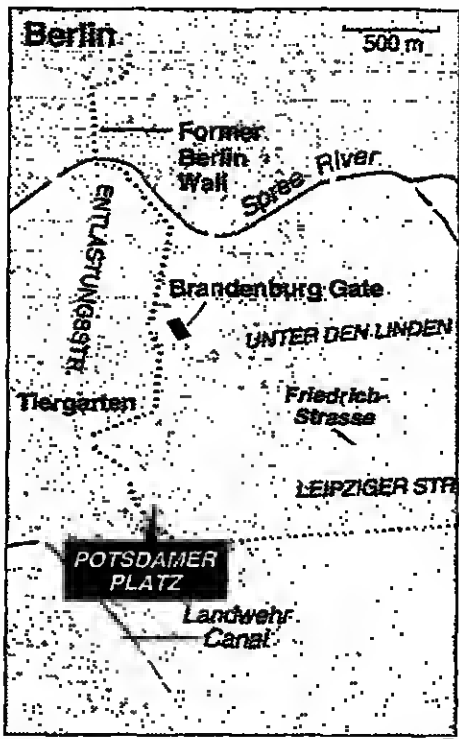
The biggest chunk of the site is being developed by Daimler-Benz AG, Germany's highest industrial group, best-known for building Mercedes-Benz cars and trucks. The project is being handled by the company's real-estate subsidiary.

Other building projects are planned at the site by Sony Corp., the Swiss-Swedish industrial consortium ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd. and the German retailing group Hertie/Karstadt AG. Sony hopes to begin work on its office complex in 1995, and Hertie/Karstadt in 1997.

Hans-Jürgen Ahlbrecht, head of the real-estate subsidiary, said the company was well aware of the historical significance of its project.

"We flew all over the world looking at city development projects, studying city planning and architecture," Mr. Ahlbrecht said. "It quickly became clear there is nothing comparable to this project anywhere. Our site is in the middle of a city of 3.7 million people, not on the edge of town like most developments of this size."

When completed in 1998, the project will have 19 buildings, including three high-rise structures and about 100,000 square meters (1.08 million square feet) of space. About half will be used for offices and 20 percent for apartments. The rest will be a mix of stores, restaurants, a conference center, musical and variety theaters, a cinema complex and a casino. One of the highlights will be a 200-meter-long, three-story shopping passage with a retractable roof.



There will also be a five-star hotel managed by Hyatt International, with 450 rooms and suites. Two parking structures will provide 2,500 parking places. Daimler officials estimate that 100,000 people will visit the complex every day to shop. Perhaps 7,500 will live and work there.

"What we are doing is creating a new urban center filled with life and ambience, a place where people will want to live, work, shop or just come visit," Mr. Ahlbrecht said. "Even before we began, I decided I would live here when it is completed. So did many of my colleagues. That is a powerful incentive to make it a success story."

The architect Renzo Piano of Genoa, Italy, was chosen after an international competition in 1992 to direct the design. The primary materials used for the buildings' facades will be brick, terra cotta and sandstone.

Who the future tenants will be is an open question. Horst C. Schluter, the director of M.M. Warburg-Schluter & Co., an adviser to Daimler, said he did not believe the German government would rent in the complex.

# Volkswagen Shares Fall On Outlook

Reuters

HANNOVER, Germany — Volkswagen AG expects pretax profit of around 2 billion Deutsche marks (\$1.3 billion) in 1996, accelerating to 3.7 billion DM by 1999, its new five-year plan says.

Excerpts from the internal document said the German company expected its return on sales to be only 0.7 percent this year. This would rise to 3.7 percent by 1999 but still be below the 4.7 percent achieved in 1989.

Volkswagen's share price plunged on the outlook. The stock finished in Frankfurt at 411.20 DM, down 10.50. Investor confidence was further shaken when Deutsche Bank AG lowered its profit forecast for Europe's largest automaker.

The five-year plan was presented to VW's supervisory board Friday, and the stock began to fall when a portion of the document was leaked that included a profit forecast for 1995 of only 890 million DM — less than half of that expected by analysts.

Volkswagen refused to comment on the report. "We do not comment on internal plans," said Hans-Peter Blechinger, a Volkswagen spokesman.

Analysts said the report showed it would take longer than they had expected for the company to return to strong profit.

Analysts said VW shares would remain under pressure. "The figures are dismal and confirm Friday's poor forecasts," Philip Ayton of Barclays de Zoete Wedd in London said.

VW's plans to set aside an average of 5 percent of sales for provisions helped to explain the low profit forecasts. Analysts said they thought the company planned to use the money to make staff cuts.

## Investor's Europe

Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40
2200	3000	2200
2100	2900	2100
2000	2800	2000
1900	2700	1900
1800	2600	1800
1700	2500	1700
1600	2400	1600
1500	2300	1500
1400	2200	1400
1300	2100	1300
1200	2000	1200
1100	1900	1100
1000	1800	1000
900	1700	900
800	1600	800
700	1500	700
600	1400	600
500	1300	500
400	1200	400
300	1100	300
200	1000	200
100	900	100
0	800	0

Exchange	Index	Monday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Amsterdam	AEX	408.44	406.45	+0.49
Brussels	Stock Index	7,298.28	7,198.75	+0.89
Frankfurt	DAX	2,059.45	2,051.62	+0.38
Frankfurt	FAZ	776.60	773.18	+0.45
Helsinki	HEX	1,855.00	1,853.15	+0.32
London	Financial Times 30	2,324.80	2,323.40	+0.06
London	FTSE 100	3,847.16	3,839.50	+0.20
Madrid	General Index	303.69	301.35	+0.76
Nielsen	MIBTEL	10915	9,950.00	+9.55
Paris	CAC 40	1,952.38	1,945.88	+0.33
Stockholm	Akersvarden	1,912.08	1,908.11	+0.47
Vienna	Stock Index	422.57	419.41	+0.75
Zurich	SBS	915.10	912.76	+0.26

Sources: Reuters, AFP  
International Herald Tribune

## Very briefly:

- The BBC and Pearson PLC plan to launch two satellite television channels in Europe on Jan. 26. BBC Prime, an entertainment channel, and BBC World, a news channel, will be distributed by European Channel Management.
- Compagnie de Suez SA said it held 20.01 percent of the voting rights in Lyonnaise des Eaux Dumez SA. Suez said it had 14.14 percent of the shares in Lyonnaise des Eaux and would not rule out buying more.
- The Federation of German Industry elected Hans-Olaf Henkel, 54, a former president of IBM Germany, as president, succeeding Tyl Necker, 64, effective Jan. 1.
- Deutsche Lufthansa AG said it would sell its 20 percent stake in Kempinski AG, a hotel chain, to Advanta Management AG, which is controlled by Dieter Bock.
- Israel's central bank announced it would raise its interest rates by 1.5 percentage points, effective Thursday. The bank said the step was designed to reduce inflation, which is estimated to be running at 14.5 percent annually.
- Berliner Handels- & Bank AG said a drop in trading income and higher risk provisions pushed operating profit in the first 10 months of the year down to 265 million Deutsche marks (\$170 million) from 267 million DM a year earlier.
- The Milan bourse launched its long-awaited equity futures contract. The contract is based on a basket containing 30 of Milan's most actively traded shares. AFP, AFX, AP, Bloomberg, Reuters

# WORK: Large Numbers of U.S. Women Over 50 Who Had Not Planned to Hold a Job Are Finding That Their Plans Have Changed

Continued from Page 1

later became full time and absorbing. The women said they were generally content in their jobs and that their satisfaction flowing from work that has social value. They never expected to have the careers and promotions that many men and younger college-educated women struggle for today, they say, and they are not driven now by such ambitions. Sometimes, looking back, they express relief at having avoided the pressures experienced by younger women who work and raise children simultaneously.

But not everyone accepts without skepticism so positive an image of women in their 50s. "People have ambitions for positions they think they have a chance of getting," said Cynthia Epstein, a sociologist at the City University of New York. "And many older women think such ambitions for them are pie in the sky, so they avoid them."

What is more, those who went to work after divorce often did not earn the incomes their husbands once provided. In addition, many women in their 50s lack the pensions and Social Security benefits that men their age anticipate after decades in corporate jobs. Women of this age increasingly find that they are not immune to the layoffs that men in their 50s have suffered.

But for all the problems, many women over 50 have made a profound breakthrough.

For Linda Fisher Smith, 56, as for many women her age, the experience she had accumulated as a volunteer and part-time entrepreneur during years of marriage and child-rearing paid off in a late-in-life career.

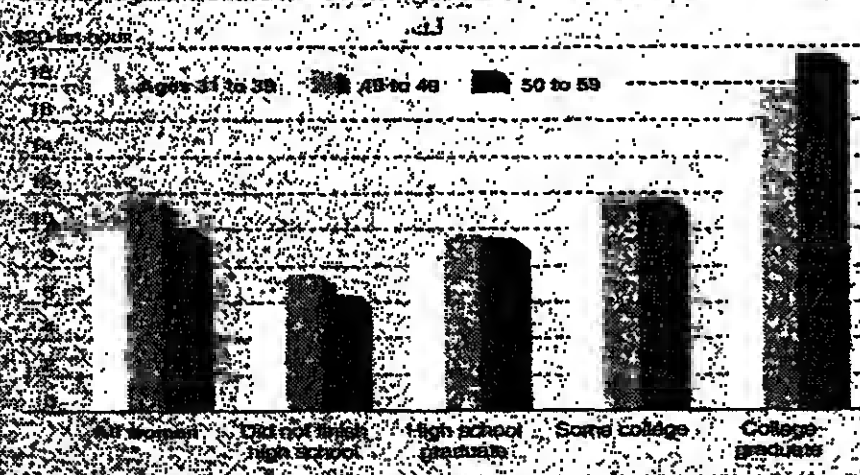
She is not the lawyer she once thought of becoming. But her job as director of development for Historic Deerfield in Deerfield, Massachusetts, helps keep alive a prominent museum of New England art and history. She raises millions of dollars each year.

Not that Mrs. Smith planned it this way. When her oldest child was born in 1968, "I did not have a career path," she said. But in the case of Mrs. Smith, motherhood included writing newsletters for a fee for the Board of Education in Pleasantville, New York, in Westchester County. She also was president of the Parent-Teacher Association, president of the board of deacons at her church.

By 1980, when she was 42, Mrs. Smith and two friends had set up Golden Apple Tours, which coordinated corporate con-

## A Decade With a Difference

Only women in their 50s with college degrees earn more than younger women. These were the median hourly wages of women in the early 1990s, broken down by age and education level. Figures are in 1992 dollars.



ventions held in Westchester, among other activities.

Then Mrs. Smith made the transition to a full-time career. Her husband, Hubbard Smith, an executive at Time Inc., left the company and the family moved to Amherst, where he took a job in the alumni office at Amherst College, his alma mater, at lower pay. Two years ago, after a heart attack, he cut back to three days a week.

Mrs. Smith soon found herself on the payroll at nearby Smith College, her alma mater, helping to raise funds. A friend put her in touch with Historic Deerfield, and she took her present job, with a jump in pay to more than \$40,000, more now than her husband makes, from \$33,000.

Flexibility became a means of survival for Nancy Broadway, 55, who has experienced many of the ups and downs of women in her age group: divorce, rearing a child alone, a layoff from a good job.

Now she is struggling to get back to work, unwilling to give up on regaining her career as a well-paid hospital administrator — but ready, she says, to take a lesser job, if she is forced to do so.

Divorced at 30, Ms. Broadway supported herself with a full-time job while rearing a child. Her salary rose through a series of administrative positions to \$51,000 a year as associate director of Bellevue Hospital's AIDS program. But she lost that job in February in a management reorganization, her first layoff in nearly 30 years of constant employment.

Like so many college-trained women in their 50s, she acted quickly to prepare herself for another job.

Mrs. Broadway enrolled for a master's degree in public administration, training she considers essential in her quest for a new job as a hospital or clinic manager.

After earning a bachelor's degree in English in 1961 at Cornell College in Iowa, she migrated to New York, where she married an actor, Robert Broadway. They divorced in 1969, when their daughter was 3. Supporting her small family kept her at work, first in low-paying theater jobs.

She joined Bellevue in 1977, at age 38, running various clinics and programs. By then, Mrs. Broadway had remarried, and her new husband, who now earns \$22,000 a year as a receptionist, helped her raise her child, "taking some of that pressure off," she said.

Having come out of college with a Peace Corps mentality, as Ms. Broadway puts it, she tries to help others even as she hunts for a job for herself. She is the unpaid vice president of Forty Plus Inc., a support group mostly for men over 40 who are out of work.

A small number of women in their 50s climbed almost to the top in corporations. But in most cases, they felt they had to make a choice between marriage and career.

Nancy Noeske, 57, said she made this choice, devoting her energy to a career. Even so, she was in her 40s when she finally began her corporate climb.

When she graduated in 1959 with a bachelor's degree in chemistry and a minor in education from Marquette University, Ms. Noeske tried to land a job as an industrial chemist. But like so many women her age, the job she got was as a teacher.

But Ms. Noeske advanced quickly, soon becoming the head of a junior high school science department and also a science teacher on educational television.

By 1976, she had taken charge of most special education programs in the big Milwaukee Public Schools system. Along the way, she picked up a doctorate in physics and another in education.

"Every three years I got a new job, and each time I had a personal decision whether to take the job or get married," Ms. Noeske said. "I thought that if I got married, that would be my career. It was just that I did not want to marry — it was just that the decisions came just when better jobs came along. And in those days, you did not try to juggle both."

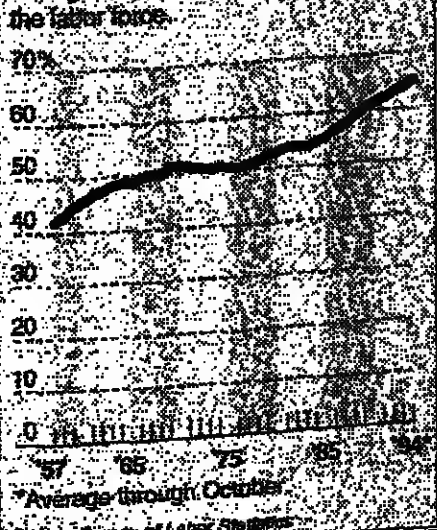
In 1979, Charles McNeer, chairman of the Wisconsin Electric Power Co., hired her at \$35,000 as an assistant vice president. He was seeking a woman executive with a science background. Her job was to improve customer relations at a time when rates were rising and customers were angry. She succeeded and by the mid-1980s she had risen to vice president, one of only 10 among 5,000 employees. Her salary reached \$130,000.

Then, in 1991, Mr. McNeer retired, and early this year Ms. Noeske also did, after clashing, she said, with the new chief executive.

"My glass ceiling was that I did not get to be a senior vice president or president of the company," Ms. Noeske said. The electric company gave her a \$73,000 annual pension. But unwilling to leave the work world, Ms. Noeske soon became a consultant to the Milwaukee School Board, at \$80,000 a year.

## Women at Work

Percentage of women from 50 through 59 years old who are in the labor force.



Prospect High School in Brooklyn in 1961. Then a break came. She rose a notch to become an interviewer of job applicants in a hospital personnel department.

"I was let go for lack of experience, and that hurt — that was a trauma," Ms. Johnson said. Still, she had glimpsed work that pleased her, and soon she was interviewing applicants at a small temporary-help agency that friends had set up. But the agency failed, and Ms. Johnson fell back into another typing job.

"That is when I came to realize that I was at a dead end and I needed that piece of paper — a college degree — and I also realized that I would have to work for the rest of my life to support myself," Ms. Johnson said. She also had a son to support.

So she enrolled in college in 1976, when she was 34, first at a community college and two years later at Hunter College in Manhattan.

With her degree in hand, at age 38, she became a counselor at a Bronx drug rehabilitation center, then at an organization that counsels women, many of them addicts. There were long hours and the pay, \$14,000 a year, was not much more than she had made as a typist. But Ms. Johnson was in her chosen field, and in 1983, at age 41, she got an \$18,000-a-year job as a counselor at a YWCA, where her salary rose to \$33,000 before she left this year.

That is what she earns now as senior counselor for the Women's Center for Education and Career Advancement, a

not-for-profit operation in Manhattan. "I counsel women on changing jobs," she said.

A few women in their 50s, pioneers really, behaved as younger women now do as a matter of practice — juggling marriage, jobs and children. Ruth Bader Ginsberg, the Supreme Court justice who is now 61, was in this mold. So was Arlene Leibowitz, a labor economist at Rand Corp. in Los Angeles.

Mrs. Leibowitz, 52, was married in 1965, at age 23, while earning a doctorate in economics at Columbia University.

Her first job as the holder of a doctorate degree was as a research and assistant professor at Brown University, where her husband, Robert Leibowitz, had become a biology professor. Their first child, a daughter, came in 1972, and Mrs. Leibowitz, then 30, returned to work six weeks after the birth.

Mrs. Leibowitz did give ground to her husband's decision to become a doctor and

give up teaching. He entered medical school at the University of Miami, where Mrs. Leibowitz — having given up her career track at Brown — secured a full-time appointment as a visiting professor and researcher. Only after the birth in 1977 of their second child, also a daughter, did she cut back for five years to 20 hours a week.

This year, the family moved to Los Angeles, where Dr. Leibowitz practiced medicine and Mrs. Leibowitz joined Rand, first as a part-time researcher and since 1982 as a full-time staff economist, now earning more than \$50,000 a year — enough over \$50,000, she says, to be comparable to what male economists in her field are paid.

The family no longer needed the income by the time Mrs. Leibowitz returned to work part time, but Mrs. Leibowitz, having acquired so much education and experience, could not bring herself to focus "on diapers and mundane things."

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Herald Tribune



**Monday's 3 p.m.**  
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

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**Monday's 3 p.m.**  
*Via The Associated Press*

**Via The Associated Press**

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# NYSE

Monday's 3 p.m.  
Via The Associated Press

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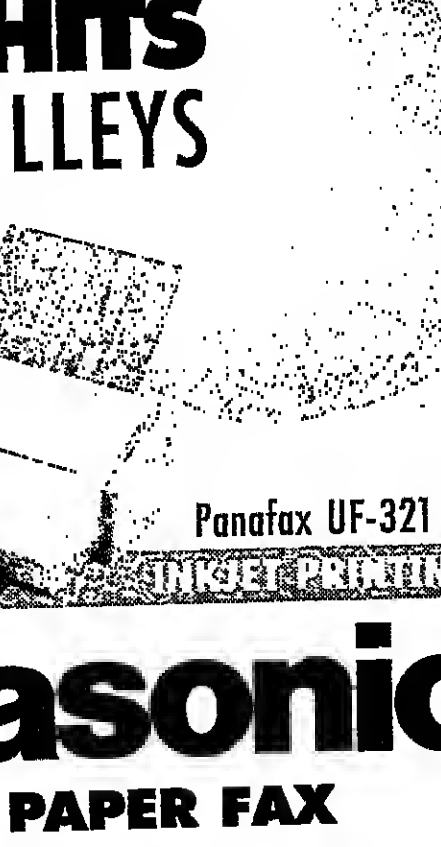
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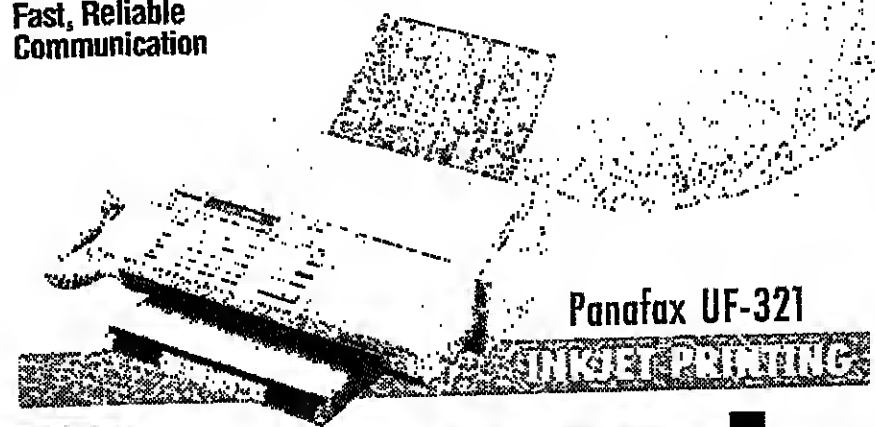
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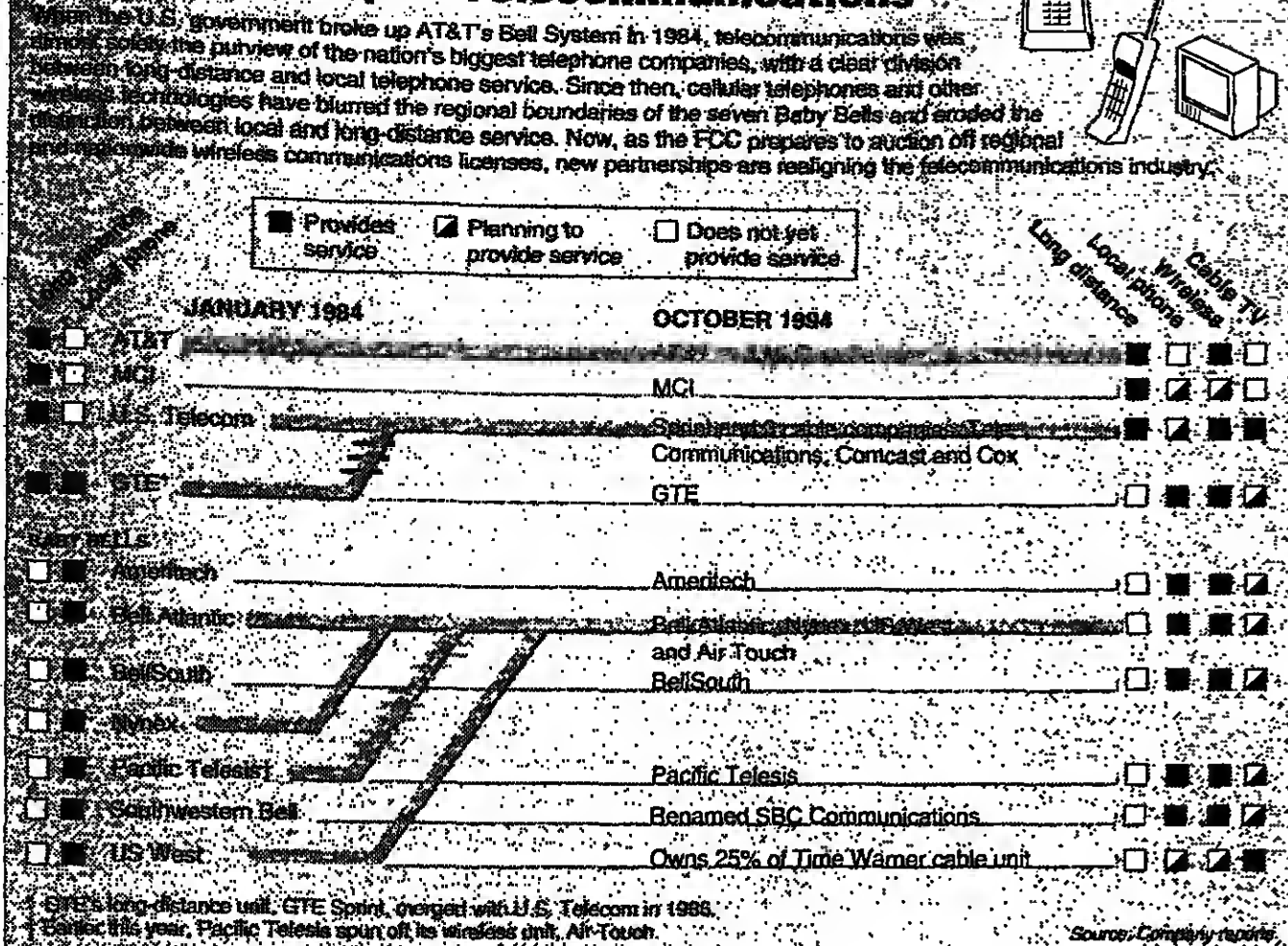
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# Telecommunications

## The New Lineup in Telecommunications



## U.S. Firms Scramble for Partners

By Lawrence Malkin

**N**EW YORK — The railroad networks solidified the great industrial nations of the 19th century, and the telephone and telegraph networks knitted together their markets in the 20th century. Now a far more complex revolution integrating telecommunications, television, and computerization is shaping the world of the 21st century, when knowledge truly will be power — and profit.

The commercial prize will be the ability to market a single, seamless service delivering voice conversations, interactive video images, and high-speed computerized data. These huge electronic pipelines, which will be the commodity-carrying canals of the newest industrial revolution, are what is meant by the information superhighway, and because no one company can do all this yet, the latest industry wisecrack calls it the "information super-bypeway."

The most authoritative definition comes from Reed E. Hundt, who points out that it will have five lanes: the broadcast network that already reaches every home; an almost universal wire telephone network that provides active service to 94 percent of the population; a third lane of cellular telephones; a satellite system that also can beam into every home and office; and last but not least, a cable network that passes virtually every home in the country although only about half are hooked up so far.

"We are the only country in the world that can say we have all five lanes, and

they run past everybody. All companies can compete to deliver all the products," said Mr. Hundt, the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

This opportunity to form competitive delivery systems explains the elephant-like mating dance of telephone, cable television, and entertainment companies searching for appropriate partners that has shaken the corporate landscape and the stock market for the past year, also involving Europe's classic monopolies. Although some U.S. partnerships were quickly put together to bid for new wireless channels in a government auction next month, that is just the newest fork in a long road, and the mere existence of technology ensures it will eventually reach around the world.

The alliance that has come closest so far to creating its own superhighway is a joint venture involving three major U.S. cable television companies with Sprint Corp., the third largest U.S. telephone network, which targets business customers. Sprint's national fiber-optic network will be patched into the neighborhood coaxial cables of Tele-Communications Inc., Cox Enterprises, and Comcast to reach at least one-third of American homes through a single wire in the wall that hooks into the phone, TV, and computer.

Time Warner, the nation's largest cable TV, movie, and magazine company, has teamed up with the telephone technology of US West, one of the regional Bell companies, to invade other markets. Its New York City cable TV network already covers the richest phone market in the nation, and this month it announced the construction of a 22-mile (35-kilometer) fiber-optic cable in midtown and downtown Manhattan to skim off high-profit business-to-business communications from the local phone company, Nynex Corp.

Time Warner is also trying to acquire cable television companies in other parts of this region, and if it succeeds as expected, its cable network will parallel Nynex's lines in New York State and New England, a territory half the size of France and richer per capita in telephone business.

A bill that would allow these and similar consortia to break the local telephone monopolies passed the last session of the House of Representatives but was beaten back in the Senate by heavy lobbying. With Republicans controlling Congress on a platform of deregulation, the outlook is brighter.

Only in Britain has competition approached America's, so it may be hard for those accustomed only to monopoly telephone service to imagine different highways offering scores and even hundreds of channels, and it may even be harder to imagine what they might carry. Here are some examples:

• Ford Motor Co. says it is closer to producing a "world car" because its design centers in Europe, America, and Australia can quickly exchange, comment on, and modify computerized plans in ways that were inefficient less than a decade ago.

• BellSouth offered doctors channels to link them with specialists for distant diagnosis and discovered they wanted news on

Continued on Page 17

## Privatization Catches On Worldwide

By Robert Bailey

**T**HE idea that the state should manage economic enterprises is a philosophy fast receding throughout both the developing world and among industrializing nations. As the selling of assets by governments has built up the focus of privatization more often than not has been on telecommunications. There are particular reasons for this. One obvious factor is that the process involves a sale of shares through private placement or public sale of a

combination of both. There are few other sectors that offer comparable opportunities for long-term profits. And there is rarely a shortage of potential investors for what is considered usually to be a blue-chip investment.

Governments are assured of a successful divestiture and a boost to revenues. The state is also relieved of the increasingly complex task of managing and planning investment strategies in a sector characterized by mounting competition and a pace of technological change greater than at any time since the telephone was invented.

As a result there is a growing private-sector involvement in the provision of telecommunications services around the globe. Some 25 percent of Telecom Malaysia's shares have been traded on the Kuala Lumpur exchange since 1990. Singapore Telecom was partially privatized last year and now accounts for 20 percent of the local stock exchange's capitalization. Indonesia and Thailand are also considering privatization of their telecom operators while India is planning to sell a third share of its international tele-

Continued on Page 19

## Data 'Highway' May Be More Like a Web

By Peter H. Lewis

**T**HE recent announcements that Microsoft Corp. and MCI Communications Corp. are entering the global Internet services business are likely to accelerate the already rapid adoption of the Internet as a strategic medium for international business communications. Many experts believe, however, that the real future of international communications on the Internet can be found in an even faster-growing technology called the World Wide Web.

The World Wide Web — also known as

WWW, W3 or simply the Web — is a multimedia, hypertext-based electronic publishing system within the Internet that makes it easy for even inexperienced computer users to navigate through thousands of international computer data bases. The data bases can consist of text, diagrams, color photographs, and even sound and video clips.

The Web was created in 1989 at the European Laboratory for Particle Physics, or CERN, in Geneva, as a way for scientists to publish and search for complex documents on the Internet. It is called a hypertext system because it allows users to jump quickly from one related source of

information to another at the click of a mouse button, regardless of whether the information resides on a computer in Paris, France, or Paris, Texas.


It was not until early this year, however, with the widespread adoption of computer program called Mosaic, that the Web captured the imaginations of mainstream businesses as a way to publish detailed product information, electronic brochures and catalogues, to offer round-the-clock technical support, and to gather almost instant customer feedback. Mosaic hides the complexity of navigating the Internet

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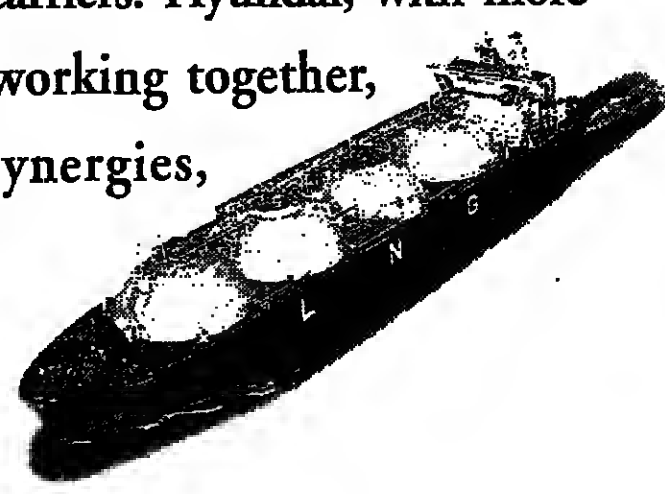
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## Information 'Highway' May Look More Like Web

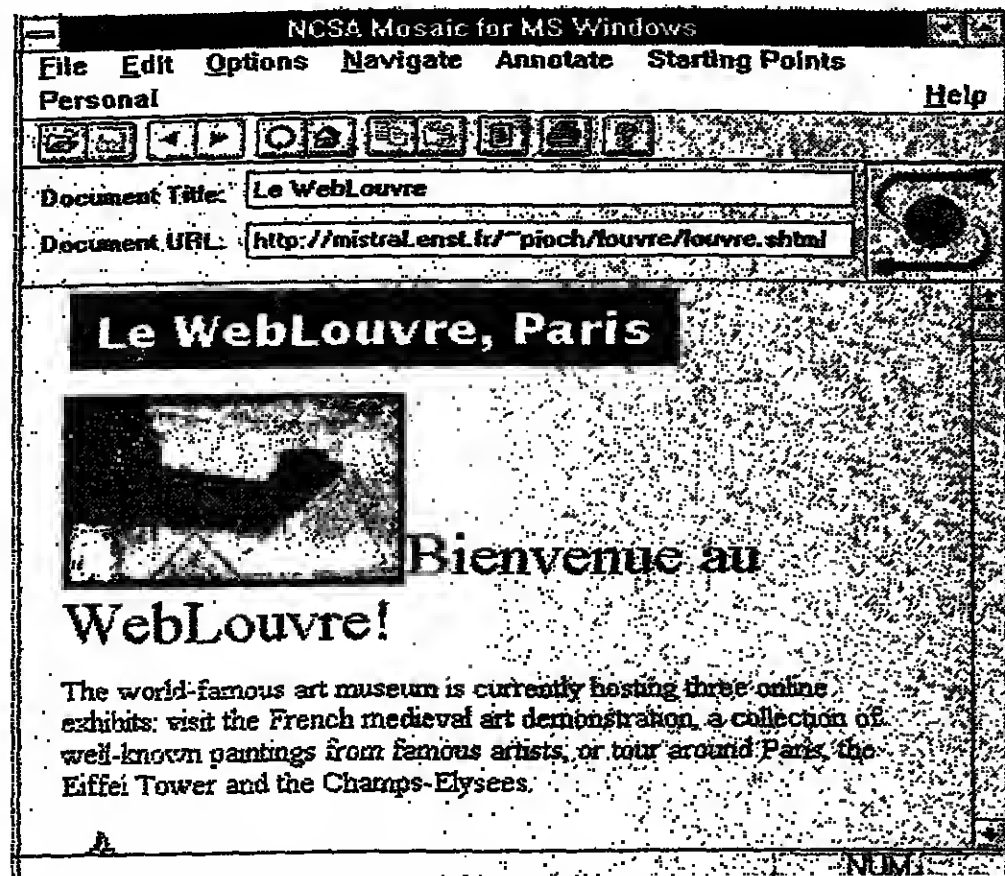
Continued from Page 15

behind a simple system of buttons and highlighted objects. "Using Mosaic for the first time tends to produce an epiphany," said Ric Shaffer, editor of the Technology Partners Computer Letter, a newsletter published in New York. "It's astonishing to learn what's available on the Internet and how easily it can be accessed."

Before breakfast on a recent day, for example, a personal computer user Texas dialed a local telephone number and used the Web to visit London and listen to a speech on information technology by a member of Parliament.

With a few clicks on underlined phrases on the computer screen, the virtual traveler moved easily to a data base containing the schedules of exhibitions at several Parisian museums, then to announcements about business opportunities in the Netherlands, to a research consortium in Hawaii, to a travel service that helped plan a business trip to Germany, and to a map showing restaurants near Times Square in New York.

According to records kept by CERN, businesses are establishing Web "server" computers at a rate of more than 200 new sites a week. On one day recently, announcements of new Web sites came from Tokyo, Amsterdam, Helsinki, and Santiago, Chile, as well as dozens from the United States. Despite the flood of international businesses into the Web, analysts caution that it may be some time before the technology pays off, except, of course, for the growing number of Internet service providers who sell their Web services to businesses.



A display on the World Wide Web that enables users to visit selected exhibits at the Louvre Museum and to tour sites in central Paris including the Eiffel Tower.

"You're not going to make a lot of money in the next six months on the Web or on the Internet," said Mary E. S. Morris, an Internet consultant in Mountain View, California. "Still, it's a place you can't afford not to be right now. It's not so much that you're going to make money in the near term; rather, you'll lose money in the long term by not being there."

Ms. Morris cited several factors that will retard, at least temporarily, use of the Web for commercial transactions.

First, to take full advantage of the graphical nature of the Web, one must have either a direct Internet connection or a special kind of dial-up account known as SLIP or PPP. While as many as 20 million or 30 million computer users worldwide have access to the Internet, only 1 in 10 have access to the Web, analysts say. However, all of the major on-line information services in the United States, including CompuServe, Prodigy and America Online, plus Microsoft, International Business Machines Corp. and Apple Computer Inc., are planning to offer Web access to customers next year, which would add millions of new users.

Second, the Internet is plagued by security breaches, and businesses are of linking

er, all of the major on-line information services in the United States, including CompuServe, Prodigy and America Online, plus Microsoft, International Business Machines Corp. and Apple Computer Inc., are planning to offer Web access to customers next year, which would add millions of new users.

Second, the Internet is plagued by security breaches, and businesses are of linking

their computer systems to a global network where hackers abound.

Consumers, meanwhile, are wary of sending credit card or other financial information over the Internet, and there are no standards yet for digital security, electronic cash or data encryption.

U.S. government policies restrict the export of data encryption technologies, which could hinder the adoption of common standards for international electronic commerce.

Despite such obstacles, the Web is attracting throngs of new developers.

The first international World Wide Web conference was held in Geneva last spring and drew more than 400 researchers, developers and entrepreneurs, double the expectations of the conference organizers.

The second international conference, held in Chicago in October, swelled 1,300 registered participants, and hundreds more were turned away at the door.

"Some of these people flew in from Europe and Japan even after we told them the conference was sold out, just hoping to talk their way in," said Donna Esterling of the Open Software Foundation in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a conference coordinator.

The next Web conference is to be held April 10-14, 1995, in Darmstadt, Germany. More information about the 1995 conference is available via Internet electronic mail at [www95-office@igd.fhg.de](mailto:www95-office@igd.fhg.de) or via the Web at <http://www.igd.fhg.de/www95.html>.

PETER H. LEWIS covers cyberspace for The New York Times.

## On-Line Teaching Grows

### Many Degree Courses Are Now Offered

By Wendy M. Grossman

LONDON — When David Pierce transferred from Paducah, Kentucky, to Manchester, England, two-thirds of his degree program continued uninterrupted at Indiana's Purdue University. The reason: the use of computer communications, which allowed him to send and receive assignments and correspondence with professors via a modem and a direct-dial link to the university.

Mr. Pierce, now vice president for international sales at Miller Group, finished his degree in 1990. His experience is becoming more common as more and more universities, new and old, start to take advantage of computer networking to expand their classrooms off-campus.

Some of the names are unfamiliar, beginning with the newly formed Global Network Academy and Virtual Online University, neither of which has a campus outside of cyberspace, and including Thomas Edison State College, which has an administration building in Trenton, New Jersey, but no classrooms.

PLENTY of mainstream institutions are going on-line, too: the New School for Social Research (New York), Emory University (Atlanta), Penn State, the University of Memphis, the New Jersey Institute of Technology, and the University of Phoenix. Subjects taught this way run the gamut.

The use of this technology is not confined to the United States. Some of the most advanced use of on-line technology has been at Britain's Open University, which has used electronic conferencing in its mix of distance-learning techniques for the past eight years and last summer experimented with video conferencing over the Internet. A programming course it recently advertised over the Internet attracted 61 responses in four days from students from Fiji to Chile.

The University of Bangor, in Wales, has experimented with various technologies using European Union funding, including direct-broadcast satellite, in an attempt to overcome

the difficulties of working in a remote, sparsely populated area.

The university currently is using on-line technology in its teacher-education programs, so that student teachers can simulate a live class made up of students in distant locations. The technology is also used to broaden the secondary school curriculum — a Welsh school may have only two pupils who want to study some A-level subjects.

What cyberspace brings to distance learning besides speed and low-cost distribution of

what on-campus students are getting, and the University of Memphis plans to run on- and off-campus sessions in tandem so that the results can be compared. Such comparisons are an issue for everyone, since there are no easily applicable standards for accrediting such courses and institutions.

As with any new technology, it's not even clear who is in a position to assess such courses, as Steven D. Crow, deputy director of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, says.

"There are about three groups at work right now trying to draw up guidelines or standards in distance delivery, so that means that to a certain extent the rules of the road have yet to be established," he says. In the case of the University of Phoenix, which is accredited by the North Central association, but has operations in both Phoenix and San Francisco.

"We had someone visit the San Francisco site, out of which Online operates," Mr. Crow says. "We look over the curriculum and the way it's being done, and get on the phone and talk to students. The challenge for us in the future is that every time you get on the cutting edge of something new, you have to ask who's going to define quality in that new scenario."

Within the United States, there's the additional problem of legal boundaries. Typically, each state regulates who can offer education within its borders. Those laws don't take into account the possibility of an institution that offers instruction without a local physical presence.

"This is one time that Americans would be well-served to look to England and Australia and some other countries which have moved to distance delivery and are experienced in this area," Mr. Crow says. In the not-too-distant future, he adds, "Other than 18- to 22-year-olds, who are going to college for the first time, the bulk of learning will be through technology."

WENDY M. GROSSMAN is a journalist based in England who specializes in computers and telecommunications subjects.

## Navigating the Internet: Directions Are Required

By Brad Spurgeon

As easy as it is to crawl the Internet Web once you're on-line, it can be a chore to find out how to connect in the first place.

While there are many well-known U.S. companies like CompuServe, Prodigy and America Online Inc. offering on-line services to the public, what hard-core Internet junkies refer to as the net are functions with names like Gopher, Telnet, FTP, WWW, and CU-SeeMe (See-you/see-me). Most of these weird-sounding services are available not through the better known on-line companies, but through an array of small companies sprouting up around the world at a dizzying rate.

As a result, just about any book or monthly magazine listing Internet service providers is out of date the day it is published. The best way to find a dial-up connection, ironically, is through the Internet itself.

Catch-22? Maybe not. As Adam Gaffin advises in his beginner's guide, "EFF's Guide to the Internet," the prime Internet directive is: "Ask. People know."

If you're living in, say, Oslo, and you want to know how to subscribe to a local Internet services company, find a friend anywhere in the world who has access to the net. If you know someone in Johannesburg, ask them to search in Norway by clicking their mouse on the country on the Web's map of the world, then by clicking on

only they can get a list of local companies offering connections to the World Wide Web, known as servers.

Service provider lists may also be found through the Internet by means other than the web. "The Public Dialup Internet Access List (PDIAL)" by Peter Kaminsky provides an international list of companies, their prices, and physical addresses. It may be received via electronic mail on the Internet by sending a message to: [info-del-server@netcom.com](mailto:info-del-server@netcom.com) with these words as your order: "send PDIAL."

But before choosing your service provider, remember the showbiz adage: "Failing to prepare is preparing to fail."

To get on the Internet, you need a powerful personal com-

puter, with a 386 processor or faster, with Microsoft's Windows software, or an Apple Macintosh computer.

The faster the modem you have the better — anything slower than 9600 bits per second (the rate the information travels the telephone line) will be too slow to take advantage of all the action graphics and videos show on the net. And if your service provider is charging you by the minute, the faster your modem the cheaper your bill will be. But powerful modems are no use if your communications software does not match its speed, and you must select your service provider with the same question: some communicate at their end only at 9600 bps.

The next step is to decide if

you want to be held by the hand by your software provider, or if you can get a little more involved. Some service providers have all the software on their end of the connection with fairly easy menus and instructions. With other companies the software is on your computer.

The disadvantage to the first method is that you have no direct connection to the Internet. It's as though you're working on a computer on the other side of town by remote control. The second method is faster, but you've got to know how to download and install software.

Finally, make sure you know what kind of technical support you're going to get, or need.

Which brings us to the bottom line. There are so many

service providers now that you can afford to shop around for the cheapest connection. You may be fortunate enough to live in an area where there is a FreeNet. The state of Illinois offers free services to its residents in Prairie-Freedom. Canada's capital, Ottawa, also has a FreeNet.

Some companies, such as Britain's Demon Internet Ltd. charge a monthly subscription fee (theirs is £10, or about \$15) and on-line time is free. But most give only a limited amount of free time each month — maybe an hour a day — and you pay for the rest.

If you're not living close to a dial-up service, but need to make a long distance call, ask if the provider offers access through PDN or PSDN lines (Packet Switched Data Network). This is a phone line that you call into locally, and that connects with the foreign service provider. But there is usually a surfer charge added to the provider's contract for charges to the PSDN line. Ireland's EuroKom offers Europe-wide access by this method.

These are only a small number of the routes to getting lists of service providers. The best way is to get some on-line time yourself, and do a little Internet surfing to find the right company for you. You might have to go to Johannesburg to do it, but it could be worth the trip.

BRAD SPURGEON is on the staff of the International Herald Tribune.

## For Information on the Internet

ALMOST as rapidly growing as service providers on the Internet are new magazines about the on-line service, such as Britain's "net." And far from killing the book industry, the Internet is creating a whole new genre, about itself.

Good books for the beginner include the Electronic Frontier Foundation's guide to the Internet, which is available as a printed book titled, "Everybody's Guide to the Internet."

Another good guide is Greg R. Notess's "Internet Access

Providers: An International Resource Directory," published by Meckler Corp., Westport, Connecticut, in 1994.

One of the best books for connecting to the Internet outside the United States is "Internet: Getting Started," edited by April Marine. First published by SRI International, Menlo Park, California, in 1992, the book was updated in 1994.

Several international organizations also provide information about the Internet:

The Electronic Frontier Foundation

1001 G Street NW, Suite 950E  
Washington, D.C. 20001  
Tel. 1 202 347 5400  
Fax. 1 202 393 5509

InterNIC Information Services  
General Atomics  
P.O. Box 85608  
San Diego, California 92186-9784

Tel. 1 619 455 4600  
Fax. 1 619 455 4640

CERN

CH1211

Geneva 23

Switzerland

Tel. 41 22 767 6111

Fax. 41 22 767 6555

Brad Spurgeon

## Alternatives to Traditional Phone-Service Suppliers Are on the Rise

By Laura Colby

I started out as a cheap way to call the United States from abroad. But now the rapidly expanding industry of alternative phone-service suppliers has diversified so much that it offers everything from low-cost Internet access to large-scale

data transmission to a clock-and-dagger-style service that offers a form of telecommunications laundering for those who want to keep their calls secret.

Alternate suppliers to the existing national telephone monopolies in most countries were born of the telephone deregulation in the United States and Britain that began with the

breakup of America's Bell monopoly in 1984.

That created a market for rival carriers such as MCI and Sprint.

Next on the scene were the callback services, whereby a caller dials a computer in the United States, hangs up, and then is called back with an American dial tone, enabling him or her to take advantage of the lower American phone rates to Europe, Asia and other areas of the world. Such companies typically offer savings of about 20 to 50 percent on calls.

The companies typically buy

excess phone line capacity from AT&T or another supplier, wholesale, then resell it to businesses and other users.

In the early 1990s, the companies began offering that service on trans-Atlantic calls. Some of the services now offer intra-European phone calls as well, although industry executives say there is some question about the legality of such services before 1998, when Europe will completely deregulate telecommunications services.

According to Conrad Vilcek, program manager for advanced networks and services

at BIS Strategic Decisions in Paris, three of the seven callback companies operating in France are now competing with France Telecom for intra-European calls.

"The drawback of a callback service," Mr. Vilcek says, "is that you are limited to your own phone."

Some alternative service providers are offering ways of calling from anywhere. In addition to the MCIs and AT&Ts, which offer phone calling cards, there are services like the London-based Advanced Business Services Ltd.,

which uses toll-free lines throughout Europe.

ABS is not a callback service, and "we aren't out to compete with the FTTs," says Lidia Katz, a director of the company. In fact, ABS's rates are not always cheaper than those of the local monopoly, but they do enable clients to circumvent the often-outrageous mark-ups at hotels and to call from virtually anywhere without having to pay cash.

With telecommunications deregulation coming to the European Union in 1998, some analysts see the future there as

dim for the callback companies, which will have to compete with falling tariffs throughout Europe as the PTT monopolies for the first time compete with each other in their own back yards.

"There is more of a future for callback outside of Europe than inside it," concedes Howard Jonas, president of International Discount Telecommunications Corp., a callback service based in New York. He points out that while European rates are likely to fall with deregulation, many nations in the developing world still have high rates and highly restricted services.

In many countries, authorities know the Internet numbers and can monitor who uses them or restrict access to them, he explained. "We can have you call one of our callback service numbers, and then the Internet calls you back."

The callback technology also allows users to route phone calls into and out of several countries, so that the local authorities won't know the call's final destination. "It's like phone-call laundering," Mr. Jonas said.

LAURA COLBY is on the staff of the International Herald Tribune.

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Telecommunications / A Special Report

# In Asia, 'Convergence Fever'

By Jon Liden

**HONG KONG** — While most Asians are still waiting for an ordinary telephone line, the telecommunications companies are preparing for advanced multimedia services for the next century.

By converging the technology and business interests involved in development of the information superhighway, telephone services and cable television, customers may in the future be able to watch a myriad of television channels, to shop, gamble, surf the Internet, make phone calls, and send faxes and E-mail, all through one socket in the wall.

Over the last 18 months, "convergence" has become the fashionable word of the media and telecommunications industry, with several major mergers and strategic alliances taking place between cable, media and telecommunications companies in the United States.

Closely following the development across the Pacific, Asian regional telecommunications companies are diversifying into cable television and other multimedia activities to enhance the value of their investment.

"One of the great advantages for Asia is that they will be able to leapfrog a lot of the technology that can't be used for converging these kind of services, technology the United States for example will be trying to write down over the next several decades," said Kenneth J. Warnock, executive director, marketing and finance, in Hong Kong for NYNEX Networks System Co. "Most telecom administrations understand that. In Bangkok, for example, the entire system is being installed with fiber-optic cable."

TelecomAsia Corp., a joint venture between the Thai Charoen Pokphand Group and NYNEX, is nearing completion of a two million line installation project in Thailand's capital, TelecomAsia has recently acquired a cable television license through its subsidiary, Thai Cablevision.

China's main cities, which are building up their telecommunications networks almost from scratch, are also expected

to put in large-capacity "broad-band" systems that can handle the volume of signals needed to transmit cable television and interactive data services. In China, as in other Asian developing countries, the telecommunications companies are keen to install much higher capacity than projected

**'What developing countries in Asia need is simply more telephone lines.'**

telephone line growth, and then to search for novel ways to make use of it.

Yet, in a region where what is new often is equalled with what is good, some analysts warn about "convergence fever," predicting that the hype will have to be replaced by realism.

"Convergence is not going to be meaningful in Asia for a long time," cautioned Andrew Harrington, a senior research analyst at Salomon Brothers in Hong Kong. "It will come. It will start small and then it will eventually get bigger, but it is nothing to get so excited about. What developing countries in Asia need is simply more telephone lines, and in the foreseeable future the vast majority of capital will be invested in telephone services."

Although business services will pose some of the demand, the multimedia revolution will rely on the home entertainment market to succeed. The most common alliances being forged or planned are between telecommunications companies and cable television operators. Although services like home shopping, home banking and interactive games may be added, cable television is expected to be the backbone of the industry for as long as anybody wants to predict.

In market terms, cable television means urban middle class, which in countries like Thailand and Indonesia makes up less than 20 percent of the population, and in China a fraction of that. A small cable television company in

Chengdu, the capital of China's Sichuan Province, charges the equivalent of 50 U.S. cents for a monthly subscription. "That is hardly a market you would be willing to spend a lot of money to get into," commented a representative for one cable television operator.

Most analysts conclude that the major development outside Japan over the next decade will take place in Hong Kong and Singapore, with small experiments in other countries. In Hong Kong, Hongkong Telecom is trying out a video-on-demand facility, which will enable subscribers to select and watch videos on their television lines, as a guard against competition when it loses its telephone monopoly in mid-1995.

Wharf Limited, which has been offering cable television to Hong Kong for a year, has been selected as one of the three competitors to Hongkong Telecom.

Potential broad-band services operators, such as Singapore Telecom and the Benpress Group in the Philippines, will have to expand outside their home countries to search for larger markets. "There is probably not room for more than two or three players in each market, so you will see hard competition," said Nikhil Srinivasan, vice president, media and telecommunications at Baring Brothers in Hong Kong.

Mr. Srinivasan stresses that when the fiber-optic lines finally are in the ground, the big question is what to send through them.

"The programming industry is underdeveloped in Asia," he said. "It is no use having 30-40 channels when there is nothing to show. For telecommunications companies and cable companies to diversify into program production is difficult and risky."

Corporations such as the Benpress Group, which already owns the broadcasting units ABS-CBN and Sky-Vision and runs a major telecommunications business, are expected to have a clear advantage over pure telecommunications companies, such as TelecomAsia. Pure program producers are also expected to profit from the development of broad-band services in Asia.



Asian countries are embracing new technologies.

# Europeans Form Alliances

By Baie Netzer

**I**N preparation for the 1998 topping of European state-run telecommunications monopolies, a number of companies are rushing to form alliances that will offer a range of services from data transmission to simple voice traffic. But in jockeying for position, the newly formed alliances have also begun a bout of bickering — led in large part by Americans.

Approval from both the European Commission and the U.S. Federal Communications Commission is often required before ventures involving both American and European companies can begin operating. But in the fight for recognition, companies are seeking to turn regulators against those alliances they deem unfair competition.

In September, for example, the chairman of American Telephone & Telegraph Corp., Robert Allen, urged the FCC to review a proposed joint venture between Sprint, America's third largest long-distance company, the German state telephone company Deutsche Bundespost Telekom and the French phone operator France Telecom. The deal, said Mr. Allen, "would not fit any reasonable definition of full and fair competition as long as France and Germany maintain their tight grip on competition in switched voice services and infrastructure."

"AT&T's opposition is hypocritical and disingenuous," fired back John Hoffman, Sprint's senior vice president for external affairs. "They have already entered into an alliance with companies in some of the most locked-up countries in the world without any regulatory approval at all while we're facing a good deal of consternation because we have to wait for approval."

For their part, regulators say they are wary of erasing one monopoly only to give approval to market-dominating alliances. "As long as there are monopolies in place, we don't want to reinforce them," said Helmut von Sydow, spokesman for the European Commission. "Once access to the markets is liberalized, then we may be more indulgent in

granting approval to alliances."

This month, the Commission blocked a proposed joint venture between three of Germany's media giants, Bertelsmann, Kirch and state telephone company Deutsche Bundespost Telekom. The alliance sought entry into the pay television market.

But only a week later, European Union telecommunications ministers made a decision to abolish all telecommunications monopolies in 1998. That decision, say analysts, will likely reassure FCC officials that access to Europe exists for U.S. companies. It may thus expedite approval for the Sprint deal.

Under the Sprint agreement, Deutsche Telekom and France Telecom will pay a combined \$4.2 billion for a 20 percent stake in Sprint. A similar deal, in which British Telecom purchased 20 percent of MCI, has already gained regulators' approval. Sprint says it anticipates winning FCC approval by the first quarter of next year, and it expects to file formal notification with the EU next month.

"Right now the secret of success for both European and American companies is to form alliances," said Evan Miller, telecommunications analyst at Lehman Brothers in London. European companies benefit from their U.S. partners' resources and competitive know-how, he pointed out, while American companies gain entry into the European market.

Indeed, the race for the coming telecommunications boom in Europe is "giving every indication of being a three-horse race and it's no coincidence that the three major alliances all have U.S. companies at their core," Mr. Miller said.

In addition to the Sprint and MCI deals, experts cite AT&T's World Partners program as the third major alliance. In June, AT&T announced that Unisource, a joint venture between telephone companies in the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain, would begin offering World Partners services to multinational companies in Europe. The partnership is primarily marketing-based and does not involve joint investment in global networks.

With their sights set on at least a part of the \$50 billion market for international corporate voice and data services, a number of other alliances in Europe are working to set up private corporate networks or cellular phone services. Often, an American Baby Bell is present as one of the partners.

In Italy, for example, the computer maker Olivetti SpA has created an alliance with Bell Atlantic, Pacific Telesis, Sweden's Telia and Germany's Mannesmann to offer a mobile telephone network. In France, the construction company Bouygues SA is working with US West, Cable & Wireless PLC and Germany's Veba to build a digital cellular network.

In private, however, some European executives fear that market liberalization and new cross-Atlantic alliances will only pave the way for American companies to dominate the European telecommunications market.

"No one wants a trade battle but unless this is managed very carefully, you could see one develop," said Mr. Miller. "For now, political necessities dictate that American companies gain entry to Europe through alliances. When the markets really open up, then we'll see if American companies actually win licenses to operate on their own."

Indeed, that test may occur sooner rather than later. In mid-November, AT&T reportedly offered to invest about \$200 million in French state computer maker Cie des Machines Bull in exchange for a French telecommunications license.

At the moment, European Commission officials say there are no plans to keep U.S. companies out of Europe's telecommunications markets as long as European operators enjoy access to the United States.

"Liberalization has to do with more than just getting rid of a monopoly, it has to do with helping all European industry compete," said Mr. von Sydow in Brussels. "Telecom costs are the most important cost factor for European businesses, above wages or weather or anything else."

BAIE NETZER is a journalist who specializes in business and financial topics.

# Japan Pushes Cable in Bid to Catch Up

By David Lazarus

**TOKYO** — Japan may be a world leader in electronic wizardry, but the country remains stuck in the slow lane on the information superhighway.

One reason is because of the big head start enjoyed by satellite broadcasting, which has put the brakes on growth of a fiber-optic cable network necessary for interactive services.

Another is that for all the advantages of multimedia capabilities like home shopping and movies on demand, no one has yet successfully articulated these benefits to Japanese consumers.

"The average Japanese person considers multimedia to be something that is given to them by a big company, not something you use yourself," said Masao Kitazawa, who works in the multimedia business department of Itochu Corp., a trading house.

Nevertheless, the Japanese government has made catching up on the infobahn a national priority. Japan's multimedia market

is expected to be worth more than 123 trillion yen (\$1.2 trillion) by 2015 and to create some 2.4 million new jobs.

This is one reason the Clinton administration made Japan's procurement of telecommunications equipment a main focus of recent bilateral trade talks.

For the average consumer, though, all this talk of trade and technology does little to spark enthusiasm for services that are rapidly becoming familiar to American TV viewers. More than 60 percent of U.S. households are now wired for cable, compared with less than 5 percent of Japanese residences.

In a bid to catch up, Nippon Telegraph & Telephone is spending 50 trillion yen to build a nationwide fiber-optic cable network.

The effort, however, has been mired in bureaucratic red tape and bickering among officials over the actual demand for sophisticated video services.

"Japan's cable TV industry will grow very slowly," said Hiroshi Inoue, deputy general manager of the cable TV divi-

sion of trading house Sumitomo Corp., which has invested in 15 Japanese cable ventures. "There is too much competition right now from satellite broadcasters."

While the United States was gradually building its cable infrastructure, slowly but surely bringing more and more homes on-line, state-run Japan Broadcasting Corp., or NHK, launched a pair of satellite channels in 1989, and a handful of commercial broadcasters followed. This got the big electronics companies making dishes, tuners and decoders, and soon an entire industry was born.

Over five million homes now receive NHK's satellite signal, and five more satellite channels are scheduled to hit the air waves in 1997.

"I don't think the cable industry is going to take off like in the U.S.," said Chuck Goto, a telecommunications analyst at S.G. Warburg Securities. "The problem is that the technology is way ahead of the market. It's been a very, very slow buildup."

There are now about 56,000

regional cable operators in Japan, mostly serving small rural areas that have no other way of receiving clear pictures. These companies use older cables that would not allow for the rapid interchange of information foreseen by multimedia planners.

Electronics heavyweights such as Fujitsu Ltd., Hitachi Ltd., NEC Corp. and Toshiba Corp. are now developing hardware for making movies and other programs available whenever desired by viewers.

The video game maker Sega Enterprises Ltd., meanwhile, is planning a games-on-demand cable service similar to the Sega Channel set to be debut soon in the United States.

"They're taking a long-term view," says Naoko Ito, a Goldman Sachs analyst who follows Japan's video-game industry. "When cable services are available to more homes — by the year 2000 or whatever — Sega wants to be the leader in the market."

DAVID LAZARUS is a freelance journalist based in Tokyo.

# In the U.S., Companies Scramble for Partners

Continued from Page 15

the latest developments affecting them in science, government and finance.

• Already making huge profits in the United States, are television networks exclusively devoted to shopping at home, which eventually will be upgraded to permit orders over an interactive channel. Airline reservation networks can be combined with travel agents' catalogues to sell tour packages through the home television screen.

• Advertisers will be able to focus their messages to individual users via specialized news, sports, entertainment and specialty channels, which helps explain why three regional telephone companies made a deal in October with the Hollywood agent Michael Ovitz's Creative Artists Agency to supply films, which the industry calls "software," for transmission over their wires.

And consider the possibility of interactive video draining away part of the nation's \$31 billion gambling business — that's how much bettors lost last year — from race tracks, sports events, lotteries, and even church bingo.

One specialist believes that the biggest losers will be the regional U.S. telephone companies, which are still paying off the cost of installing the traditional copper wire networks that lack the capacity to turn into superhighways.

Philip J. Serlin, a telecommunications analyst at Wertheim Schroeder & Co., reckons that local phone companies still owe an average of about \$700 per subscriber on obsolete copper wire networks that originally cost them \$1,200 a subscriber. The cable companies, although heavily indebted, are already servicing their debt through video fees and calculate that they can upgrade their networks to carry lucrative phone and computer traffic for only about \$500 a subscriber.

"The only reason the local phone companies look so healthy is that they are collecting monopoly rents for local service," said Mr. Serlin. He explained that although the regional Bell companies are regional Bell companies, teaming up to deliver video, wireless and other services in their own and other territories, the base of their business and their cash flow comes from their monopoly on local calls

and from the revenues they earn from switching these calls onto long-distance networks. When Congress permits competition at the local level, he said, "that will drain away the cash flow that makes them look like such powerful players now."

How long this will take is a matter of conjecture and depends largely on the time and money it takes to organize the competing networks.

William Bane, vice president of Mercer Management Consulting Inc., which analyzes the telephone market, believes that the short-term financial returns will not be sufficient to justify investing billions in a fiber optic-coaxial network. But eventually, he concedes, the phone companies will lose their base and "that poor little copper wire will have nothing to do."

Internationally, this poses a fundamental dispute. Mr. Humd has made it clear that U.S. policy is grounded in competition among all the lanes of the information highway, which he argues will produce the lowest possible price levels and expand the industry.

European governments are dragging their heels, especially

finance ministries that want to maintain temporary monopolies for their phone companies to boost the price the public will pay when they are privatized. But the French and German state telephone monopolies are not waiting. They invested in Sprint to ensure alternative trans-Atlantic connections. Meanwhile, American companies are trying to buy into European telecommunications through the back door. AT&T is seeking a share in France's troubled Bull computer group in return for a telecommunications license.

"The American view is that you can never have enough competition because that produces new applications as each network offers different and ingenious services," said Mr. Bane. "But the Europeans look at this and they see waste, waste, waste instead of a single, regulated system that will offer all the applications you can think of at a lower unit cost."

Which system will triumph? Which idea will prevail? Stay tuned.

LAWRENCE MALKIN is the New York correspondent of the International Herald Tribune.

## Landmark Financings in the Telecommunications Industry

### USWEST

US West, Inc.  
22,000,000 Shares of Common Stock  
Lead Manager  
U.S. \$1 billion  
November 1993

### IRIDIUM

Iridium, Inc.  
800,000 Shares of Common Stock  
U.S. \$800 million  
Goldman Sachs acted as financial advisor to Iridium, Inc. and managed the placement of the shares privately and publicly. The shares are listed on the New York Stock Exchange and the NASDAQ National Market.  
October 1993

### Telecom

Telecom Corporation of New Zealand Limited  
36,225,000 American Depositary Shares representing 724,500,000 Ordinary Shares  
Global Coordinator  
U.S. \$818 million  
June 1992

### Koninklijke PTT Nederland NV

138,150,000 Ordinary Shares  
Financial Adviser to the Company  
DFI 6.9 billion  
June 1994

### Thal Telephone & Telecommunication Co., Ltd.

U.S. \$1 billion equivalent Project Finance Credit Facilities and Sale of a 20% Equity Interest to Nippon Telephone and Telegraph Corporation  
Goldman Sachs acted as financial advisor to Thal Telephone and managed the placement of the shares privately and publicly. The shares are listed on the New York Stock Exchange and the NASDAQ National Market.  
November 1993

### Telefonos de Mexico, S.A. de C.V.

22,150,000 American Depositary Shares  
57,000,000 Series L Shares  
Global Coordinator  
U.S. \$1.4 billion  
May 1992

### Cable & Wireless

Cable & Wireless  
12,075,000 American Depositary Shares representing 36,225,000 Ordinary Shares  
Lead Manager  
U.S. \$323 million  
September 1989

### Tele Danmark A/S

63,229,770 Shares  
Joint Global Coordinator  
DKK 19.6 billion  
April 1994

### Singapore Telecom

Singapore Telecommunications Limited  
650,484,000 Ordinary Shares by way of tender  
International Coordinator  
S \$2.3 billion  
October 1993

### CANTEL

Rogers Cintel Mobile Communications Inc.  
15,000,000 Class B Subordinated Voting Shares  
Lead Manager  
U.S. \$255 million  
August 1994

### Vodafone Group Plc

Vodafone Group Plc  
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Lead Manager  
£341 million  
October 1989

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# Europe Sets the Standard for Mobile Phones

By Robert Bailey

LONDON — It is rare for Western Europe to carve out a prominent technological lead over both North America and the Far East. But Europe's decision to agree on a common standard for mobile digital telecommunications, taken at the start of the 1990s, has allowed a rapid development of mobile telephone markets in Europe and established the standard known as GSM — Global System for Mobile Telecommunications — in dozens of countries elsewhere.

GSM so far has been adopted by some 45 countries in addition to the initial 18 founder members. This has stimulated a dynamic market situation that has accelerated the rate at which GSM infrastructure and subscriber terminals have evolved and helped reduce costs of development.

that 38 percent of the world's installed cellular telephone base will be provided by digital technology by the end of 1998, compared with 8.9 percent in 1994.

GSM is steadily being adopted as a standard for mobile telephones in much of the world including Africa, the Middle East, Far East and

Other countries planning to open GSM networks include Bahrain, Egypt, Hungary, Israel, Iran, Kuwait, Pakistan, Russia and Thailand.

While the GSM memorandum was the result of years of debate and discussion the fact that agreement was reached on one digital standard was a great step forward for Europe,

Europe's decision to agree on a common standard for mobile digital telecommunications has helped make GSM the standard in dozens of countries elsewhere in the world.

Asia and is expected to dominate the first generation of digital cellular products.

China's Lian-Tong Communications Corp. is due to offer GSM services in Beijing, Guangzhou, Shanghai and Tianjin by the second half of next year as part of a \$3 billion investment in a national GSM network.

GSM networks are already operating in a few Asian countries. They are being planned in Indonesia, the Philippines, Cambodia, Vietnam, Taiwan and in India, where eight city-based GSM licenses have been approved.

according to Dean Evers, an analyst for the consulting firm Dataquest U.K. Ltd.

Shipments of GSM cellular telephones will overtake those of analog models next year. Within three years GSM shipments are expected to be 10 times those of analog, Dataquest forecasts.

Digital mobile telephones offer subscribers a number of improvements over earlier, analog models.

With the digital process, speech is transmitted as a computer-coded signal whereby voice patterns are converted and compressed into a numeric

code known as bits. The signals produced are not continuous in form but made up of pulses of electrical current representing the voice, fax or data to be processed.

The frequency adopted (900 Megahertz) allows a far more efficient use of the radio spectrum by operators. It also provides a much greater clarity of call with the characteristic background noise picked up by analog phones effectively eliminated. Because the signal is broken up in the digital system of transmission, calls are also much less susceptible to eavesdropping than analog systems, which transmit a continuous signal.

Initial teething difficulties associated with the introduction of digital services have now been overcome while production of GSM standard handsets is rising and prices coming down. These are factors likely to boost the growth of GSM subscribers, particularly in mature markets such as Europe where mobile telephones are well established.

GSM has proved popular in Germany, where Deutsche Telekom Mobil's D1 network and Mannesmann Mobilfunk's D2 system have some 750,000 subscribers.

GSM subscribers wherever they are can also use their mobile phones in other countries in which "roaming" agreements have been secured by service providers with other

GSM operators in those states.

The system works because each GSM phone set requires a subscriber identity module, known as a simcard. The credit-card size module incorporates a microprocessor with information on the subscriber and his billing details. Once inserted into the phone, the card allows subscribers to make and receive calls and be charged to a home-based account if making calls from abroad.

Handling voice traffic is but one aspect of GSM's versatility. Its digital design allows phones to integrate easily with computerized equipment, opening up the possibility of voice messaging and data transmission services for mobile users.

There is likely to be a growing impact on markets from handset products doubling as telephone, fax and personal computer.

BIS Strategic Decisions expects revenue from the transmission of mobile data to reach \$1.5 billion within the next three years and expects that more than 40 percent of this will come from digital cellular users.

Other industry analysts have drawn similar conclusions. Frost & Sullivan, the U.S. consultancy, believes that the next two years will be a major period of market development of GSM as users defect from ana-



Europe's mobile phone market has developed rapidly.

log services and new subscribers opt for the GSM standard. This stage will also witness a big development of data and messaging services, it predicts. A trend is already apparent. Britain's leading cellular service provider, Vodafone, says that connections for the third quarter of 1994 show digital

subscriptions rising in each month of the quarter.

There is a growing opinion that GSM is destined to replace not only analog mobile telephones but also fixed-line services. In Scandinavia, new mobile connections are on a par with fixed-line connections. The same pattern is be-

ing repeated in Britain and elsewhere in Europe. According to Dataquest's Mr. Evers: "The future is totally with GSM."

ROBERT BAILEY is a journalist based in London who covers technology and aerospace.

## When Phone Service And Cable TV Meet

By John Burgess

WASHINGTON — For decades, the two American industries lived alongside each other, never venturing into the other's preserve. Local telephone companies carried talk; cable TV companies carried video. They had separate networks that did not connect, separate ideas on how best to run and finance a company.

Today, that long peaceful co-existence is near its end. New technologies and new freedoms granted by regulators are letting the industries confront each other head on. Telephone companies are upgrading their lines to carry video. Cable firms are revising their networks so that customers can plug in telephones and make calls. In the race are virtually all of the big names of the two industries. Companies are laying plans to offer entirely new services as well — interactive home shopping and "video on demand," in which customers would order a movie for instant electronic delivery to their sets.

"Everybody's trying to expand who they are — so they can be alive in the future," says Larry Plum, a spokesman for Bell Atlantic, a regional phone company based in Philadelphia.

Consumers, competition's advocates promise, will be the winners, getting a choice in services that traditionally have been offered take-it-or-leave-it style by monopoly providers. But not everyone is so optimistic. Cable companies say they could be squashed by the much larger telephone companies. Consumer groups wonder if the two industries will weaken themselves by spending billions of dollars to offer new services that may not prove hits with consumers.

Cable-telephone competition is just one part of a broad deregulation of telecommunications in the United States that began in earnest with the break-up of the monopoly Bell Telephone System in 1984.

Europe, East Asia and much of the rest of the world are deregulating the industry as well, in a few cases faster than the United States. In the Britain, for instance, many cable companies already offer telephone service.

Development of flexible new technology has accelerated the trend. Phone companies, for instance, have figured out how to push a video signal down copper wiring, a feat that for years was judged impossible. Computer companies are developing electronic "servers" that can store movies in the digital language of computers and send them out on request.

The Washington D.C. area is becoming a testing ground for the two sides. SBC Media Ventures, the cable operator in Montgomery County, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, has applied for permission to offer telephone service in competition with the local phone company, Bell Atlantic. In another suburb, Alexandria, Virginia, a cable system owned by Jones Interchange is laying fiber-optic lines to homes and experimenting with local telephone service.

Making changes like these is no small undertaking. Cable systems as they exist today are typically one-way pipes. To carry phone calls they need costly equipment and software that allows signals to flow both ways and can "switch" them around in the network to reach a particular destination. Many cable companies feel they need help. Through mergers and alliances, they are trying to grow and close some of the gap that exists between them and the telephone companies in size and resources.

They "recognize" that "the only way it will be profitable is to have a big geographic area," said Victoria Clarke, spokeswoman for the National Cable Television Association. Some cable companies, in fact, believe that the best way to go is to link up with phone companies. The biggest such deal, Bell Atlantic's proposed \$26 billion acquisition of the country's largest cable operator, Tele-Communications Inc., fell apart over questions of price. Other have gone ahead: Montgomery County's cable operator SBC Media Ventures is owned by regional phone company SBC Communications, formerly Southwestern Bell Corp.

Bell Atlantic, meanwhile, has Washington-area employees test viewing a "video-on-demand" service. The company plans to offer video services to 2,000 homes in the Washington area next year, which it calls stage one of a roll-out that will make the services available to 8.5 million homes by 2000.

Realizing that it knows precious little about movies, Bell Atlantic joined with two other regional telephone companies to make a deal with the Hollywood agent Michael Ovitz to secure and produce programming for a video service to be called Stargazer. (Bell Atlantic chairman Raymond Smith likes to joke that no one wants to see a movie made by the phone company.)

Phone companies believe that to succeed in the competitive market ahead, they must also reform corporate cultures that have grown slack under years of monopoly protection. "You're seeing technology move faster than Bell companies are used to moving," says Frank Dzubeck, president of Communications Network Architects, a Washington consulting firm. Companies where change was measured in decades, he says, must deal with technology that changes by the month.

As competition closes in, the sides are feuding over the fine print of new rules of competition. Cable companies are demanding the right to connect to the phone companies' networks, so that cable customers could call people who use the existing service. The phone industry says that if cable companies are going to offer phone service, they should be required to serve everyone, as phone companies are.

And many regulatory hurdles remain. "Both sides are going to need some go-ahead from politicians to be treading on each other's turf," said Robert Wells, senior analyst at market research firm Lennox Research of Boulder, Colorado.

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Telecommunications / A Special Report

# Privatization Catches On

Continued from Page 15

communications carrier VSNL to international institutions.

The collapse of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe has also seen capitalism begin to embrace telecommunications. Deutsche Telekom, together with the Ameritech of the United States, paid \$875 million last year for a joint share in Hungary's Matav PTT company. The latter is now considering divesting another 10 percent of its stock.

The Czech Republic is planning to sell 27 percent of its national telecommunications concern SPT Telekom. Various international consortia are bidding for the stake, which is valued at \$1 billion. These include Bell Atlantic with France Telecom and a grouping of American Telephone & Telegraph Corp., the Dutch PTT and Swiss Telecom.

The path leading toward privatization is not always smooth. In Argentina, the first round of bidding for the public telephone service provider Entel was declared invalid, leading to a second round of bidding in exasperation. The process was eventually completed in 1991 with Entel split into a northern section, which was sold to Telefonos de Espana, and a southern concession, sold to a partnership comprising Italy's STET and France Cables & Radio.

Greece has also experienced protracted delays in the attempted privatization of its Hellenic Telecommunications Organization. This month, the country's national economy minister, Iannis Papandriou, declared that the proposed sale of a 25 percent stake in OTE had been put off "because the situation in world markets did not guarantee a satisfactory price for OTE's shares." The sale, which was expected to raise \$1.2 billion, is now scheduled for early 1995.

For any PTT organization however, privatization in itself is not a panacea. The follow-up demands changed management philosophies and workplace attitudes if its full benefits are to accrue.

After the merchant bankers have departed from the scene the corporate elements of change are often more difficult to implement. Probably the

biggest hurdle of all is recognizing the need and value of competition.

British Telecom was at the vanguard of privatization 10 years ago when it became a public company. A BT official admits that an end to state ownership required "a major culture change in attitudes towards customers and quality," but also provided it with freedom "to crack at the new opportunities offered by the information revolution."

BT sees itself as having changed from being an engineering-led concern to a service-led company. The next phase of development will reflect "the vast changes occurring in information technology and communications." These BT identifies as mobile tele-

Probably the biggest hurdle of all is recognizing the need and value of competition.

phony, multimedia, tele-shopping, home banking and entertainment.

There is however, a harsh social cost involved in the privatization process. In the past, telephone companies have been under as much or more pressure to maintain jobs as to provide competitive services. This constraint has lifted.

In the last four years BT has reduced its workforce by more than a third, to 138,000 from 232,000. The target level is believed to be 100,000.

Koninklijke PTT Nederland, which floated 35 percent of its shares in June, plans to cut 3,000 out of 31,000 jobs over the next three years in an effort to raise productivity by 20 percent.

Deutsche Telekom, which plans a partial privatization in two years, has said its workforce needs to be reduced by 13 percent, to 200,000 employees, while those remaining need to double their productivity.

Company concerns are not entirely concentrated on slashing overheads. The operating

environment is a vital consideration for all. In the run-up to its share issue, Deutsche Telekom has called for clear regulatory guidelines for Europe's telecommunications industry to avoid deterring potential investors in its flotation. In a significant move this month, European Union governments agreed "to end monopolies on their telecommunications networks by Jan. 1, 1998. This followed a prior pact to end monopolies on provision of voice services by the same date."

Some want things to go quicker and faster though. Britain, the Netherlands and France as well as Germany and future EU members Sweden and Finland are pressing the European Commission to come forward with proposals as quickly as possible to allow the use of cable TV, road, rail and energy networks for telecommunications services, other than basic phone calls, by next year.

It is a call for liberalization and an opening to competition that would have been unheard of until recently.

Fear of being left behind is acting as a powerful spur to operators who see themselves losing ground, and profits, as markets open up for enhanced telecommunications services.

Alliances are steadily being formed to address cross-border opportunities for value-added data and private network services.

An end to state controls is making this process easier and also encouraging a new type of telecommunications concern. For instance, Veba AG, the German energy group, is planning a 10 billion Deutsche mark (\$6.5 billion) investment targeted at gaining an eventual 10 percent share of Germany's telecommunications market.

French water companies such as Generale des Eaux and Lyonnais des Eaux-Dumez and the British power concern Energie are among those making inroads into their domestic telecommunications markets.

It is certain that the world of telecommunications is going to look very different by the end of this decade from both a users and providers point of view. In this, privatization is proving a major catalyst.

# Phones Bring New Era for Hungarian Village

By Henry Copeland

KISOROSZI, Hungary — In their village, Maria Bordes and her family are neither poor nor rich. Like their more affluent neighbors, the Bordes family's cottage has indoor plumbing; yet, like many others, the family still relies on wood burning stoves for heat. What the Bordes have in common with nearly every other family here in Kisoroszi, a village of 600 dwellings some 40 kilometers up the Danube river from Budapest, is the lack of a telephone.

"We applied for telephone in 1985. In 1988, we received a notice that said we were No. 5 on the waiting list," says the 56-year-old, laughing.

SOON, her wait will end. Employees of Hungary's national telephone company, Matav, are working weekends putting in telephone poles and installing lines in Kisoroszi. Next month, 300 new telephone lines will begin to ring, like church bells heralding a new era, in cottages across the village.

A year ago, Deutsche Bundespost and Ameritech International paid \$875 million for a 30.2 percent stake in Matav. Directed by the foreign partners, Matav will spend \$2 billion in the next three years to install one million telephone lines, many of them in villages like Kisoroszi.

The number of phone lines per inhabitant should triple before the end of the decade, bringing Hungary up to current Western European levels.

This will more than wipe out Hungary's current backlog of 735,000 phone applicants. Likewise across Eastern Europe, falling technology costs, foreign investment, and deregulation should eventually bring telephones to the other 22 million people that the International Telecommunication Union calculates are still on telephone waiting lists.

As in Kisoroszi, the most rudimentary telecommunications needs will be met with digital technology that permits the century's most sophisticated residential services — itemized phone bills, voice mail, call waiting, or call forwarding.

Leaping from one end of the century to the other, East European societies may well somersault, industry participants say.

Some Eastern Europeans are already hopping off of waiting lists for land lines and onto cellular phones. At the end of 1993, there were 95,000 cellular phones in Eastern Europe. Now, Hungary alone boasts 150,000 cellular subscribers. These customers are mostly entrepreneurs, who are adapting quickly to the new age.

"When we started voice mail in the States, we were excited when 10 percent used it," says Joseph O'Konek, deputy managing director for the cellular division of Eurotel, a joint venture between US West, Bell Atlantic and the Czech national phone company. "We launched it here last summer and 30 percent use it regularly. They didn't have answering machines to stop using," he explains.

Portable phone customers in Poland and Hungary use their phones an average of more than 400 minutes a month, triple the rates in Western Europe.

In Kisoroszi, the changes brought by telecommunications will be more subtle, but no less substantial. Most immediately, the reservoir of kerosified women waiting to use the village's three pay phones, long a well of gossip, will evaporate.

And the doctor, teacher, mayor, and preacher who were previously privileged with the village's only private phones may find themselves treated with a little less deference by neighbors who no longer depend on their lines for incoming calls.

In the first three quarters of 1994, 270,000 Hungarians got phone lines, but Matav's waiting list declined by only 30,000 names, as people who had assumed they could never have a phone suddenly took hope.

This apparent enthusiasm is balanced by the fact that "a lot of people are going to take a long time to use even the most basic services," says Tim Nulty, managing director of the Central European Telecom Investment Advisors, a Budapest-based \$100 million investment fund. One in 10 Matav customers use the phone no more than a few minutes a month, company records show.

In part, this reluctance grows out of the region's political past. "Under communism, you knew every phone line could be tapped, so you used the phone to set up appointments, and that was it. You certainly didn't conduct business by telephone," says Mr. O'Konek.

Telephobia runs even deeper, argues Zoltan Pap, head of Matav's market research department. "This has been an information-hoarding society," he says. In a market economy, informed consumers choose freely among a variety of options. In contrast, under the command economy, "if you wanted a car, there was one firm you went to, except it was not really a firm, but an office. And you filled out forms, gave them your money and waited, sometimes for years," Mr. Pap says.

Consumers today retain the belief that the only way to get ahead in life — and in life — is through personal contacts, which means doing business in person. Many clerks who trained in the



former system also resist the telephone.

"Businesses are not yet used to doing business by phone, and Matav is just as guilty," admits Sharon Brant, a marketing consultant seconded to Matav from Ameritech.

Ms. Brant notes that Matav customers with digital lines still cannot use their telephones to request premium services like call waiting or call forwarding, but must still go into an office, and fill out the appropriate paperwork. A fax won't do either.

And at least one unreformed Matav clerk has asked a customer to justify her need for call waiting.

To get Hungarians out of store lines and onto the phone lines, Matav will soon launch an ad campaign suggesting that by using the telephone to check the price and availability of goods, customers can save time and money. But for the time being, Matav can go only so far in promoting its products.

"The trick is, because of the limited availability, you don't want to anger the public by promoting the luxury services like call waiting when three quarters of a million people are waiting for phones," Ms. Brant says.

Even as Matav struggles to become a seller rather than a rationer of telephone services, usage per line is falling. "This is my number one problem to understand," Mr. Pap says. According to the International Telecommunication Union, that the number of local

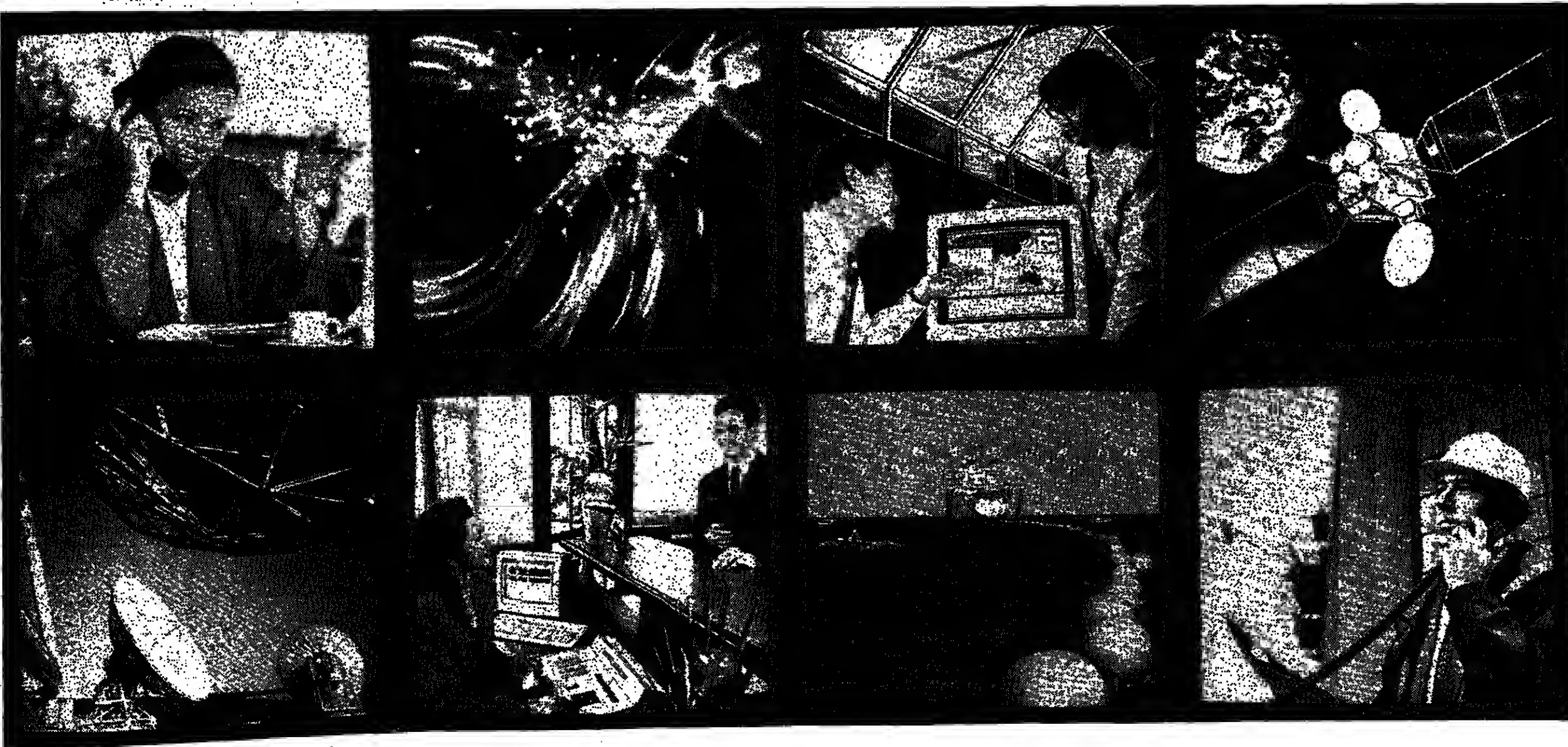
calls per line have dropped from 1,100 in 1990 to 1,000 in 1992 to 940 in 1993.

In part, Mr. Pap attributes falling line usage to Hungary's economic slowdown: GDP fell 20 percent between 1990 and 1992. Also, the relative cost of local calls has risen throughout the same period. Line use may also be dropping as businesses and government offices install systems to track phone use, thus curtailing the habit of making personal calls — especially international ones — from work.

MOST importantly, Matav's widening phone coverage is diluting the economic and social sophistication of its core customer base. In 1989, the 600,000 Hungarian homes which had telephone lines housed the country's elite. Now, as telephone lines penetrate Hungary's other 3 million households, the average customer is becoming less educated, and less well off. These new customers tend to use the telephone less, Mr. Pap says.

Maria Bordes may yet turn out to be a good customer. She looks forward to calling her son who lives two hours away. Mrs. Bordes also thinks the new phone will allow her and her husband to market their homemade cheese.

HENRY COPELAND contributes to the International Herald Tribune from Budapest.



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Telecommunications / A Special Report

# Cambodia Shows Technology's Limits

By Jon Liden

**PHNOM PENH** — Back in 1991, as most people believed peace would soon be descending on Cambodia, many thought it was time to build a full-fledged telecommunications system covering the whole country. Together with a rehabilitated road network, proper telecommunications facilities would tie the provinces together and get the war-ravaged country back to life. Such a telecommunications system would cost \$100 million, a master plan made by the Australian telecommunications company Telstra that year estimated.

Since then, 20 times that amount has been spent on getting peace and democracy in Cambodia, and roughly another \$1 billion has been earmarked for development aid between 1993 and 1995, but the roads are as bad as ever, and you still cannot pick up a phone and make a call between two Cambodian cities.

In fact, you can barely make a call across town. Most of the line network in Phnom Penh was put in by the Soviets and the Vietnamese many years ago. Its technology is antique, worn out and chronically breaking down. In Siem Reap, the country's most important tourist destination, as in most other provincial cities, you cannot make a call at all.

Cambodia's case presents both the opportunities and limitations of modern technology in poor countries. Building an effective telecommunications system in a country of eight million people and only eight major towns is not technically difficult, both the international agencies and telecommunications companies agree.

Phnom Penh could be linked by microwave systems to the western towns of Battambang and Siem Reap, and to Thailand. A similar link could be made to eastern towns, to Vietnam and to the planned Hong Kong-Vietnam-Thailand fiber-optic sea cable that is currently being laid. Other Cambodian towns could be linked by satellite and backed up by radio.

Yet the experience from Cambodia shows that in the end it is not technology but political and economic stability, realistic planning and government control that will determine whether a poor country can build up the telecommunications system it needs to support its economic development, industry experts argue.

Cambodia is a country where the normally aggressive international telecommunications companies have feared to tread. They have good reasons for their caution. Since most of their income stems from maintenance contracts and traffic revenue rather than sales of equipment, few would risk installing expensive equipment in a country with a guerrilla army bent on sabotage and a public sector infamous for its corruption and negligence.

With the government in an uneasy coalition between two former enemies, ministries have problems planning ahead and making far-reaching decisions about the country's future.

If the Ministry for Post and Telecommunications retains a monopoly, it can use the revenue from international and domestic trunk systems to build the investment-intensive local network that will provide the estimated 90,000 lines Cambodia's post and telecommunications minister, So Khun, wants. The minister's aim is to increase the Cambodian telephone density tenfold, to one phone per 100 people. But the target is not likely to be reached this side of the millennium.

Even the decision to transform the telecommunications system set up to serve the United Nations peacekeeping force into a civilian system took more than a year to make. The \$18 million contract was awarded in September to Indonesia's Indosat.

While the Indosat system will provide the country with a basic telecommunications system, a long-term, expandable system will have to replace it as demand outstrips capacity in two to four years. The government is waiting for yet another master plan for telecommunications — the third in a decade, this time funded by the United Nations Development Program and the International Telecommunication Union — before it proceeds further with



telecommunications development. That plan is due the first quarter of next year.

"The advice to the government will be to retain a monopoly over the basic network and develop public-switching systems through cooperative agreements with commercial operators on a subcontract basis or some form of build-operate-transfer agreement," said Peter Booth, who is the ITU's advisor to the Cambodian government. "We stress that competition should be managed, and that all basic facilities and assets should be retained by the ministry, at least in the short and medium term."

JON LIDEN is a journalist based in Hong Kong who travels frequently to Southeast Asia.

# U.S. Auctions Off the Rights to Its Airwaves

By John Burgess

**WASHINGTON** — The sums are higher than anyone expected. In a series of auctions that began here in July, the U.S. government has received pledges of more than \$1.35 billion for something that since the start of the communications age it has handed out free — rights to use the airwaves for commercial purposes.

On sale are licenses to offer "personal communications services," such as pocket phones, advanced paging and interactive television. The revenue so far is just the start. In December, the first bidding begins on the pocket phone licenses, which many experts say is what the industry most values.

It is a clean break with the past at the Federal Communications Commission. Since the agency's creation in 1934, much of its work has revolved around assigning licenses without charge to parties who win lotteries or who in tedious, courtlike proceedings officials judge to be qualified and deserving.

Now, searching for ways to lower its budget deficit and to bring market-force efficiencies to the communications industry, Washington is selling the rights. With wireless communications already growing by leaps and bounds — there are now about 19 million cellular telephones in the United States — the industry is proving more than willing to bid.

For instance, American Telephone & Telegraph Corp., which recently bought the country's largest cellular phone company, McCaw Cellular Communications, in July won two national paging licenses for \$80 million each. Now it is marshaling huge resources to win pocket phone licenses. "We're applying for them everywhere we don't currently operate a cellular system," said Bob Ratcliffe, a company spokesman.

No one knows what the government's ultimate proceeds will be, but \$10 billion has gained currency in the industry as an estimate.

The bids are running high enough that some experts worry of a hidden cost: that large established companies will take control of the truly valuable

licenses, and that the need to make back the license fees will mean high rates that will slow growth of the new services.

Smaller companies, in fact, may bid so high for their licenses that they could get overextended and go broke, says Jerry Lucas, president of TeleStrategies Inc., a McLean, Virginia, consulting firm.

Federal officials point out that bankruptcies happen in any competitive market. They also note that license auctions have long taken place in the United States. They were private — the government never saw any of the money. People and companies who had won free licenses would quickly put them up for sale, in many cases before offering even a day's worth of service. Speculators resold millions.

Now the FCC holds the gavel. Companies compete under elaborate rules in which round after round of electronic bidding is held until the price ceases to go up. Bidders use elaborate computer modeling and hire "game theorists" to try to second-guess what competitors will do.

Winners are meant to build

on the wireless revolution that began a decade ago with the introduction of cellular phones. Lying ahead, the industry promises, are pagers that can send as well as receive, pocket phones light and cheap enough for virtually everyone to carry, perhaps even handheld terminals that can send and receive video signals.

The market is seen as so big that officials are taking special steps to help small companies and ones owned by women and minorities win a substantial stake in it.

So far the results on this policy are mixed. In July, companies owned by women and minorities won close to two-thirds of 594 local licenses to offer interactive television services for home shopping. But many experts see that type of service as having the most questionable future.

In bidding for national paging licenses, the winners were all large, familiar names — AT&T, BellSouth Corp., Paging Network Inc., Mobile Telecommunications Technology Corp.

Whoever they are, winners could find the market they are entering to be murderously

competitive. At present, U.S. communities have only two cellular phone services and a number of paging services. The plan is to double or even triple the volume of wireless services in each U.S. market. The auctions would add up to six more phone and other wireless services in each.

In view of these risks, predicts David Yedwab, a vice president at the telecommunications consulting company Eastern Management Group, some of the licenses "are going to go unbid, unfulfilled and unbuilt."

Those that are built may struggle for customers. Existing cellular companies, for instance, have full coverage of their communities. The new companies will start with networks that offer only partial coverage, an embarrassing gap for services that supposedly let people communicate anytime, anywhere.

Some analysts conclude that the licenses will prove valuable, but in many cases not for years. Companies that ultimately succeed, Mr. Lucas says, will need "very deep pockets, patience and infrastructure."

JOHN BURGESS is a reporter for The Washington Post.

We're helping our clients write the book on customer service. And here's the last word: customerize.

# State Ownership Loses Luster for French Firm

By Joseph Fitchett

**PARIS** — State ownership, once an asset for France Telecom, is becoming a burden in the 1990s.

The French phone company was held up as a dazzling success story in the 1980s as it transformed a backward national infrastructure into a match for the world's top systems. In fact, it was its very status as a state-owned company that made such a transition possible.

But as the telecommunications industry worldwide moves forward, France Telecom's state ownership prevents it from being able to form international alliances as nimbly as many of its deregulated competitors. The company also risks being limited in the all-important U.S. market.

"Until we are privatized, there are some things we simply can't do," said Jean-Yves Gouffes, vice-president for worldwide networks and services. Added another France Telecom executive: "We realize that phone services have become a key tool in increasing the productivity and the competitiveness of every almost every company in our country, so these corporate accounts have become a national priority as well as the bulk of our revenue."

But to stay with these mega-accounts, the global corporations that want the top supplier of phone services, France Telecom now needs to have the market flexibility that comes with private ownership.

For the moment, privatization remains unthinkable politically in France, where even the ruling conservatives hesitate to evoke the need for radical change in a venerable national service. With the electoral campaign in full swing to choose the next president next spring, there can be no movement toward even preparations for privatization.

"We see grand partnerships emerging among the key companies that intend to operate on a worldwide basis," Mr. Gouffes explained in a recent interview about France Telecom's long-term strategy. But as a state-owned entity, the French company is unable to do the kind of share swaps and other equity deals that usually characterize such deals.

France Telecom was able to strike a major deal last summer by teaming up with Deutsche Telekom, its main European partner, to each buy \$2 billion worth of stock in Sprint, the third-largest long-distance U.S. carrier. A consolation prize, it was still a prize for France Telecom because it could provide a foothold in the United States, which remains the world's largest telecommunications market.

Even though Sprint lacks the scope of the top-tier U.S. carriers — MCI is three times larger than Sprint and AT&T is five times larger than MCI — the proposed deal would offer the ability to give major business consumers the seamless "end-to-end" service they demand.

The main problem for the deal, however, is liable to be objections from regulatory agencies — and not only in the United States. The European Commission in Brussels has never been enthusiastic about seeing government-controlled companies with national monopolies expand into international alliances.

"Nobody likes state-owned players in markets that have become competitive," an EC official said in Brussels. "U.S. companies fear that they really are government agencies, not agile enough to maneuver in a fast-changing marketplace; regulators don't like them because they suspect that their government backing will distort competition."

The idea of forming alliances at all is a revolutionary one for phone companies, which used to live by the creed that good fences make good neighbors: Phone companies passed calls along to neighboring countries without asking what the foreign phone company did once it got the call.

The impetus for change has come from the big corporate clients, Mr. Gouffes said, explaining that they want service that ensures a customer the same level of phone facilities in a Third World capital that it enjoys in Paris.

"Companies are going to have to operate their own global networks; otherwise, the system gets dragged down to lowest common denominator of the countries it has to operate in," Mr. Gouffes said.

JOSEPH FITCHETT is on the staff of the International Herald Tribune.

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## SPORTS

Kickers' Duel  
Ends With Bears  
Beating Cards

The Associated Press  
Kevin Butler kicked the Chicago Bears right into first place in the National Football Conference Central Division.

## NFL ROUNDUP

time, ended his duel with the Arizona kicker and gave Chicago a 19-16 victory over the Cardinals in Tempe, Arizona.

The Bears (8-4), who learned during the game that Tampa Bay had beaten the Vikings, took over sole possession of the division lead heading into a Thursday game at Minnesota.

Arizona (5-7) needs to win its last four games to finish above .500 under its first-year coach, Buddy Ryan.

The Cardinals seemed out of it until defensive end Keith McCants batted a pass by Steve Walsh, pulled it down and lumbered 46 yards to score with 7:36 left and cut Chicago's lead to 16-13.

After Arizona's defense forced a three-and-out, Jay Schroeder led a 13-play drive that ended in Davis's game-tying 47-yard field goal with 58 seconds left, his third.

Davis then squibbed the kickoff, it hit Chicago's Bob Christian and Terry Irving of the Cardinals recovered it on his own 45. But the Bears held at midfield and time ran out.

Chicago received the overtime kickoff but had to punt after one first down. A pair of 6-yard passes to Greg

McMurtry and Jeff Graham preceded a 44-yard Walsh-to-Graham bomb that moved the ball to the 20.

Lewis Tillman carried twice for 5 yards, and a penalty on Arizona's Michael Bankston moved the ball to the 10 for Butler's winning field goal.

He connected from 35, 52 and 31 yards earlier, offsetting Davis's field goals of 49 and 22 yards before the tying kick.

Chargers 31, Rams 17: San Diego's Darrien Gordoo had a 75-yard punt return for a touchdown and an acrobatic endzone interception. His fellow cornerback Sean Vanhorne sealed the victory for San Diego (9-3) over visiting Los Angeles (4-8) with a 50-yard interception return for a touchdown with 51 seconds left.

Steelers 21, Raiders 3: In Los Angeles, there was no need for Pittsburgh's defense to bail out its offense. Not even on Gary Anderson's worst day.

Pittsburgh (9-3) scored three offensive TDs, equaling the total it scored in the previous five games, and the defense held Los Angeles (6-6) to 179 total yards and recorded five sacks.

Anderson, 20-for-21 on field goals entering the game, missed three attempts.

Seahawks 10, Chiefs 9: The Seahawks (5-7) scored all 10 of their points in the fourth quarter against Kansas City (7-5) after Joe Montana left the game with a foot injury in Seattle. The winning points came on John Kassar's 32-yard field goal with 1:42 left.

The Chiefs initially said Montana had a sprained left foot. No update was released after X-rays were taken.



The Rams' Roman Phifer tackling the Chargers' Natrone Means, who rushed for 95 yards in the victory in San Diego.

Giants 21, Redskins 19: The Giants (5-7) won their second straight as Dave Brown passed for two TDs and ran for another in the rain in Washington.

The Redskins (2-10) scored on four field goals by Chip Lohmiller and a 60-yard fumble return by Martin Bayless.

Broncos 15, Bengals 13: In Denver, John Elway threw a 16-yard touchdown pass to Anthony Miller and Jason Elam kicked three field goals as the Broncos (6-6) reached .500 for the first time this season.

The last chance ended for the Bengals (2-10) when they fumbled deep in Denver territory with 3:36 left.

Patriots 12, Colts 10: Matt Bahr kicked four field goals and

Drew Bledsoe set a single-season team passing-yardage record as visiting New England (6-6) moved into a three-way tie for second in the AFC East.

Indianapolis fell to 5-7.

In earlier games, reported Monday in some editions of the Herald Tribune:

Browns 34, Oilers 10: In Cleveland, Vinny Testaverde played a full game for the first time in six weeks and threw two TD passes, and Leroy Hoard rushed 23 times for 103 yards and two touchdowns for the Browns (9-3). Houston (1-11) lost its eighth straight.

Buccaneers 20, Vikings 17: A great comeback led by Warren Moon went for naught against Tampa Bay in Minneapolis.

Moon threw a 40-yard TD pass to Qadry Ismail on fourth-and-long with 1:27 left, then tossed a 2-point pass to Cris Carter to tie it. But in overtime, Eric Guliford botched a punt return and the Bucs recovered to set up a 22-yard field goal by Michael Husted. Tampa Bay (3-9) snapped a six-game losing streak and sent Minnesota (7-5) to its third loss in a row.

Falcons 28, Eagles 21: Jeff George threw for 364 yards and combined with Terance Mathis on two touchdowns passes, helping offset a 91-yard TD run by Herschel Walker in Atlanta.

The Falcons (6-6) stayed in the crowded race for wild-card spots. Philadelphia (7-5) lost its third straight.

Dolphins 28, Jets 24: In East Rutherford, New Jersey, Dan Marino used a new trick in leading Miami (8-4) to a comeback victory over New York (6-6) in the fourth quarter for the 29th time in his career.

Trailing 24-21, the Dolphins were moving downfield behind Marino's precision passes. When they got to the Jets' 8, the Dolphins ran to the line of scrimmage and Marino, fighting the noise of the crowd, gave a hand signal that seemed to indicate he would spike the ball to stop the clock.

Instead, he fired a pass to the front corner of the end zone, and Mark Ingram caught it before defensive back Kerry Glenn turned around.

No Greying of the U.S.  
As B.C. Wins CFL Cup

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Lui Passaglia's fourth field goal of the game — a 37-yarder on the final play — lifted the B.C. Lions to a 26-23 victory over Baltimore in the Grey Cup on Sunday, keeping the Canadian Football League championship in Canada.

"We won this for British Columbia, we won it for the city of Vancouver, we won it for Canada," said the B.C. lineman Ian Sinclair.

Passaglia, 40, who in 19 years in the CFL became the league's all-time leading scorer, missed a 37-yarder with 67 seconds left, but Baltimore regained the ball on its own two-yard line and was forced to punt after a short run and an incomplete pass by Tracy Ham.

Baltimore, an expansion team playing with all American players, made a critical error in the fourth quarter when quarterback Tracy Ham fumbled at the B.C. 1-yard line and Tony Collier recovered for the Lions.

Baltimore was the first American team to reach the championship game. The Lions are the first team to win the championship at home since Montreal in 1977. It was the third Grey Cup championship for the Lions.

Baltimore took a 20-10 lead 4:34 into the second half when Donald Igwebuike kicked a 26-yard field goal, but B.C. stormed back behind Danny McManus, who came in for the injured Kent Austin late in the first half.

McManus scored on a one-yard run with just over five minutes remaining in the third quarter to cut the deficit to 20-17 and Passaglia added a 42-yard field goal with 52 seconds left in the third to tie the game at 20-20.

A 27-yarder by Passaglia 3:09 into the fourth quarter gave B.C. a 23-20 lead, but Igwebuike booted a 29-yarder 5:17 later to tie the score for the final time.

(Reuters, AP)

## SIDELINES

## Watson Wins Skins Title in Playoff

PALM DESERT, California (Reuters) — Tom Watson sank a 20-foot, \$160,000 birdie putt on the first extra hole to capture the overall Skins Game title with a two-day total of six skins and \$210,000 at the Bighorn Golf Club.

Watson, who just missed a birdie putt on the par-four 18th hole, hit a seven-iron to within 20 feet (6 meters) to the right of the hole before knocking in the putt worth four skins on Sunday. Paul Azinger needed two putts from 20 feet; Payne Stewart left his birdie putt 4 feet short and Fred Couples slid his birdie attempt to the right of the hole.

## Ski Races May Be Moved to Tignes

BASEL, Switzerland (Reuters) — Men's World Cup alpine skiing races postponed at the Italian resort of Sestriere during the weekend because of lack of snow may be held in the high French resort of Tignes, the International Ski Federation said on Monday.

"The situation in Europe is a disaster," a FIS spokesman said. "Tignes is the only resort on the Continent that can host races in decent conditions."

A slalom and giant slalom were postponed at Sestriere. If weather conditions do not improve, he added, the circuit may move to North America. A downhill and a super-g scheduled for next weekend in Val d'Isère, France, also have been postponed.

## For the Record

Peter Schmeichel, 31, Manchester United's goalkeeper, will be out of action for up to six more weeks with a back injury.

(Reuters)

The National Hockey League and its locked-out players are expected to meet by midweek, likely in Boston, although no formal communication between the two sides has confirmed the date and place. Talks ended after a half-hour on Saturday when the players asked for time to regroup.

(AP)

## SCOREBOARD

## NFL Standings

## AMERICAN CONFERENCE

## East

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
8	4	0	.667	288	227
6	6	0	.500	228	223
6	6	0	.500	255	253
6	6	0	.500	245	246
5	7	0	.417	243	230

## Central

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
7	3	0	.700	213	172
7	3	0	.700	246	148
7	3	0	.700	201	203
1	11	0	.091	167	245

## West

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
10	2	0	.833	221	200
9	3	0	.750	224	215
6	6	0	.500	207	204
6	6	0	.500	230	202
5	7	0	.417	227	226

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE

## East

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
10	2	0	.833	335	179
7	5	0	.583	243	214
5	7	0	.417	255	249
5	7	0	.417	154	228
2	10	0	.167	246	321

## Central

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
11	1	0	.909	211	208
7	5	0	.583	242	215

## West

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
10	2	0	.833	221	200
9	3	0	.750	224	215
6	6	0	.500	207	204
6	6	0	.500	230	202
5	7	0	.417	227	226

## SUNDAY'S GAMES

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
10	2	0	.833	221	200
9	3	0	.750	224	215
6	6	0	.500	207	204
6	6	0	.500	230	202
5	7	0	.417	227	226

## The AP Top 25

The Top Twenty Five teams in The Associated Press college football poll, with first-place votes in parentheses, recorded through Nov. 26. Total points based on 25 points for a first-place vote, dropping to one point for a 25th-place vote, and rounding to the nearest whole point.

Rank	Team	Points
1	Nebraska 121	1,523
2	Penn St. 121	1,459
3	Alabama 111	1,436
4	Michigan 104	1,346
5	Colorado 104	1,308
6	Florida St.	1,289
7	Florida St.	1,168
8	Texas A&M	1,095

## EASTERN CONFERENCE

W	L	T	Pct.	PP	PA
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## WESTERN CONFERENCE

W	L	T	Pct
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# SPORTS

## Hoyas Fall To Vengeful Arkansas

The Associated Press  
MEMPHIS, Tennessee — Nolan Richardson is ready to make a permanent reservation for the Martin Luther King tournament.

His top-ranked Arkansas Razorbacks beat No. 14 Georgetown, 97-79, on Sunday in what was more like a home game than what the Black Coaches Association hopes is an annual fund-raiser.

"I'll play this here every year," Richardson said. The first national champs to return five starters since UCLA in 1967, rebounded from a 104-80 loss to third-ranked Massachusetts on Friday night.

"We looked at this game as a test of our manhood," said the Arkansas forward Corliss Williamson. "There was no sulking or a chance for pointing fingers after losing to UMass."

Williamson, who looked out of synch against UMass, rebounded with 22 points, 16 rebounds and six assists.

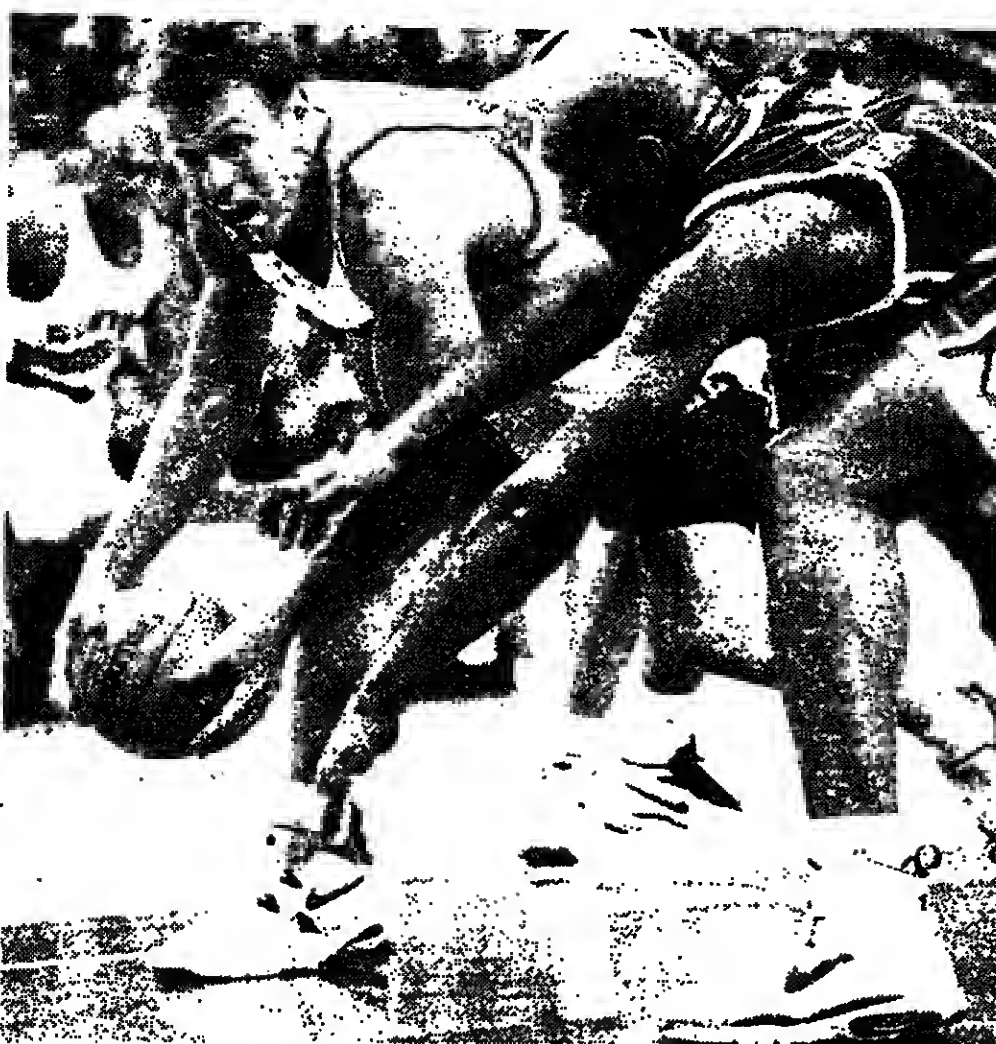
"Maybe we needed to get slapped in the face the way UMass did to us," Williamson said. "Everybody had been trying to do it by themselves, and that's not what we did last year. Now we're playing like a team."

It was tentative the other night and coach talked to me about that," Scotty Thurman and Clint McDaniel had 16 points each for Arkansas, while Reggie Garrett added 15.

"Anybody that didn't expect Arkansas to come back like they did is a fool," said Georgetown's coach, John Thompson. "They were national champions and are an excellent team. They got humbled a bit and came back. When I saw Nolan's face yesterday I said, 'Oh, hell, I knew.'"

The freshman Allen Iverson, who averaged 37.5 points in the Hoyas' two exhibition games, was 5-for-18 from the field with eight turnovers against Arkansas. Iverson had 19 points, while George Butler added 17.

Arkansas didn't wait long to take control against Georgetown (0-1). The Hoyas led 17-15 when Garrett keyed a 15-3 run that made it 30-20 with 8:51 left in the first half. Garrett, a transfer from the University of New Orleans, hit two jumpers and a layup during the run as Georgetown missed five shots and turned the ball over twice.



Phoenix's Dan Majerle snatching the ball away from Derrick Coleman of the Nets. With Charles Barkley back on the bench, Danny Manning led the Suns to a 115-110 victory.

## Manning Steps In to Lift Suns

The Phoenix Suns didn't have Charles Barkley — again. Instead, Danny Manning took center stage — again.

"Every night we have somebody else step up," said Manning, who scored 10 of his 18 points in the fourth quarter of the Suns' 115-110 victory over New Jersey on Sunday night in Phoenix. "We have a lot of guys who can go out and play and be very versatile. I think we can hold the fort until they can come back."

Barkley was back on the bench with a sore abdominal muscle. No matter.

With Manning, averaging 20 points, leading the fourth-quarter surge, Phoenix captured its third consecutive game.

Kenny Anderson's layup capped a 31-12 run that put New Jersey in front 102-101, its first lead since the opening minute of the second quarter.

That's when Manning took over. He converted a three-point play and sank two more free throws and made up for the scoring droughts of Dan Majerle and Wesley Person, who each scored 26 points in the first three periods, but were held scoreless in the fourth quarter.

Derrick Coleman scored 30 points, while Anderson added 27 points and nine assists for the Nets, who lost for the seventh time in nine road games.

Pistons 106, Warriors 91: Grant Hill and Joe Dumars scored 21 points each as Detroit handed Golden State its fourth straight loss, all on the road.

The Pistons blew a 21-point lead in the third quarter, then outscored the Warriors 33-13 in the fourth period, including a 24-5 streak, to win the game.

Terry Mills had 20 points and 14 rebounds for Detroit. Tim Hardaway scored 19 and Tom Gugliotta 18 for the Warriors.

Trail Blazers 99, Pacers 89: Clyde Drexler snapped out of a game-long shooting slump and scored nine fourth-quarter points as Portland snapped visiting Indiana's four-game winning streak.

Clifford Robinson led the way with 17 points, while Buck Williams had 16 and Drexler 15 for the Blazers.

Reggie Miller scored 20 and Rik Smits, despite foul trouble, had 19 for the Pacers, who were playing the opener of a four-game West Coast trip.

The Pacers, who had 23 turnovers, attempted a team record-low of 59 field goals.

The Suns' victory was a relief for Manning, who had already been banned for two years by FINA, the sport's world governing body, was also one of the eight swimmers.

It said the three other positive tests involved a track and field athlete, a cyclist and a canoeist.

Dr. Yoshio Kuroda, who supervised the final set of tests conducted in Tokyo on Saturday, confirmed that high testosterone

## Top Swimmer Among 11 Chinese Said to Fail Asia Games Drug Tests

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — The Chinese swimmer Lu Bin, who won four golds and two silvers last month at the Asian Games, was one of 11 Chinese athletes who tested positive for drugs at the Games, the Kyodo news agency reported on Monday.

Kyodo, quoting sources at the Olympic Council of Asia, said eight of the athletes who tested positive were swimmers.

Lu set a world record in the 200-meter individual medley at the Games on Oct. 7. She also won gold medals in the 50-meter freestyle and in two relays, and won silver medals in the 100-meter freestyle and 100-meter backstroke.

At the World Championships in Rome in September, Lu won the 200 individual medley plus two relay golds and finished second in the 100- and 200-meter freestyle events.

Kyodo said the world 400-meter freestyle champion, Yang Aihua, who had already been banned for two years by FINA, the sport's world governing body, was also one of the eight swimmers.

It said the three other positive tests involved a track and field athlete, a cyclist and a canoeist.

Dr. Yoshio Kuroda, who supervised the final set of tests conducted in Tokyo on Saturday, confirmed that high testosterone

levels were found in both A and B samples for some athletes.

A formal hearing of the Olympic Council of Asia's medical committee, which Kuroda chairs, must be held before results of the tests can be made public. Such a meeting could come within the next week.

Earlier Monday, Mutaleh Ahmad, director-general of the council, said he had been informed that 11 Chinese had tested positive but declined to identify the athletes or say in which events they had competed.

He said final tests would be carried out to confirm the findings.

"We expect a final and official report on this situation to reach us by the end of tomorrow and only then can the OCA make an official statement on this matter," he said Monday.

An official in the information section of China's National Sports Commission in Beijing said: "We have not received any notification from the Olympic Council of Asia, so we cannot make any comment."

In Lausanne, FINA said it had no information on any positive tests.

"We have not received any information from the organizers of the Asian Games," said FINA's director, Cornel Marculescu. "It is up to them to take a decision first and then to inform us, but we have no information yet."

Last week, FINA banned Yang after she tested positive for excessive levels of testosterone. She was tested just before the Asian Games, on Sept. 30.

Yang won the 400-meter freestyle at the World Championships in September, part of a Chinese onslaught that stunned the sport. Chinese women won 12 of the 16 golds at stake and set five world records.

Although they did not name China, more than a dozen coaches at the championships lodged a formal complaint over doping in the sport and requested stricter tests. That led to the surprise testing just before the Asian Games began Oct. 2.

FINA officials said the results of those tests indicated possible drug use among several other Chinese women swimmers, but were inconclusive.

Chinese authorities said Yang's action was an isolated case and denied charges that Chinese athletes practiced systematic use of performance-enhancing drugs.

Five Chinese swimmers have failed doping tests over the past two years — equaling the total number of athletes from other countries that have tested positive in FINA tests over the past 22 years.

Yang is at least the 34th Chinese athlete to flunk a doping test since 1987. Chinese officials acknowledge that 24 of their athletes tested positive last year.

(Reuters, AP)

## FIFA and France at Odds Over '98 Site

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — Joao Havelange, president of world soccer's governing body, FIFA, suggested Monday that Strasbourg be added as a host city for the 1998 World Cup, irritating French organizers, who have completed their selection of venues for the tournament.

Havelange said after meeting organizers that Strasbourg had symbolic importance because it bordered Germany and was home to the European Parliament.

His comment, at a news conference, clearly annoyed French officials, who after a painstaking selection process omitted Strasbourg from the final list of 10 cities to host matches in 1998.

"For us, the dossier is closed; there's no question of any changes whatsoever," said Francois Koscusko-Morizet, government liaison to the organizers.

"If Strasbourg was added, we'd have to eliminate another city," he added.

The cities chosen to host the 64 final-round matches are Bordeaux, Lens, Lyon, Marseille, Montpellier, Nantes, Paris, Saint-Etienne, Toulouse and the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis, where a new stadium is being built to accommodate the opening and closing matches.

Havelange suggested that the number of host cities could be increased to 12. But he failed to convince Michel Platini, the former French star who is head of the organizing committee.

"I cannot see how we could go back to Strasbourg," Platini said. "For me, it is out of the question. Local politicians should have made their decision earlier."

Strasbourg city officials had expressed doubts about their ability to raise the funds needed to convert the local stadium to World Cup standards. Meinau Stadium has 17,000 seats and standing room for 24,000, while FIFA requires at least 40,000 seats for a World Cup venue.

(AP, Reuters)

FA Extends Grobbelaar Deadline

The Zimbabwean goalkeeper Bruce Grobbelaar on Monday was granted more time by England's Football Association to answer allegations that he had taken bribes to fix Premier League matches. Reuters reported from London.

The FA originally gave the Southampton player 14 days, ending on Monday, to submit evidence in his defense.

"Both sides agreed an extension is desirable, partly because of the complexity of gathering material," an FA spokesman said. "There is no new deadline but obviously we would expect something to start moving in the next couple of weeks."

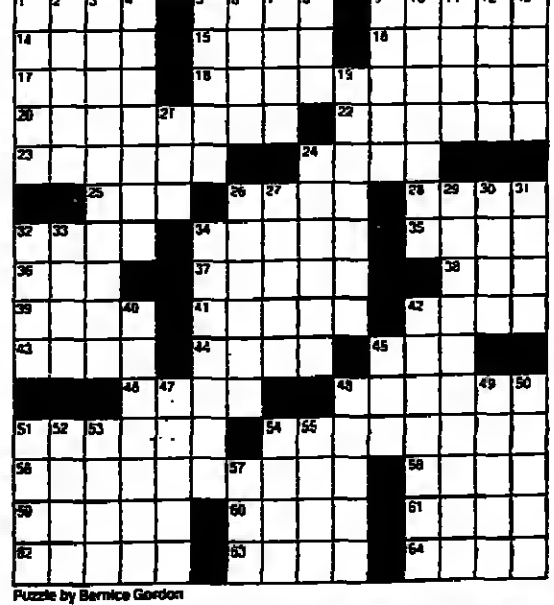
## CROSSWORD

ACROSS  
1 Record player  
5 Reineve, as they  
9 Conclude successfully

14 The King's middle name  
15 Deal (with)  
16 Forgo  
17 Bach's "— in B minor"

18 Place for Pere?  
20 Part of a radio wave  
22 Group of nine  
23 Blackboard  
24 One-liner  
25 Fraternity letter  
26 Kind of cue  
28 Con artist's game  
30 Thaw money  
31 "Easy Aces" medium  
32 Rap's  
33 Salt-N-Pepa, e.g.  
34 — Annie ("Okiehomat" role)  
37 Doing e taken?  
38 Canadian prov.  
39 Upper cut?  
41 Spinted  
42 Regarding  
43 "Dallas" actor Howard  
44 Diner sign  
45 — "Doubtful"  
46 Ousted Ugandan  
48 Argentine grasslands  
51 Seasonal pick-me-up  
54 90 arc  
56 Place for Tyrone?

DOWN  
1 Radical Midwest group  
2 Shiva native  
3 Place for Jodie?  
4 Discernment  
5 Young haddock  
7 Semiconical church section  
8 \$1000, stangily  
9 Ritz  
10 Showing sincerity  
11 Not on target  
12 Part of the balance  
13 Hang in the balance  
19 Science course  
21 Prefix with liberal  
26 Nightclubs  
28 Port Moresby resident  
27 Pindar, e.g.  
29 Place for Ben?  
30 — "We Got Fun?"  
31 Marquand sleuth  
32 Trunk cover  
33 Direction for Soti  
34 Andrew Johnson's birthplace  
40 Carpenter machines  
42 Antimacassar locale  
43 Ephraim for Anthony Wayne  
47 Malory's "Le d'Arthur"  
48 Hymn of praise  
49 Architectural piers



Solution to Puzzle of Nov. 28

ARKS COOPER ALP  
LEIA MAUTE RYE  
ALLTHEKINGSMEN  
PRINCESSAISVY  
EIS HES ASIST  
ECHO  
RESTORED WED  
THEEMPERORJONES  
VAT SALTIST  
SWAB TACK  
IDIO LOA RMO  
PRINGEOTFIDES  
LORDOFTRIFLES  
AXE DEARS AINS  
XYZ EIRLEIS GITS

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## ART BUCHWALD

## Bring On the Guillotine

WASHINGTON — The difference between this election and others is that the Republicans are threatening to hold war-crime trials against the president and members of his party.

The winners — Newt Gingrich, Alfonse D'Amato and Jesse Helms — all want to bring members of the opposition to justice either by demanding a public hanging on the Mall or a firing squad with ammunition supplied by the National Rifle Association.



Buchwald

A GOP law-enforcement officer told me, "We wish to hold the equivalent of the Nuremberg trials and have the Democrats face charges of increasing the budget deficit, pouring money down welfare sewers, appointing liberal justices to the Supreme Court and waffling on prayer in schools. We will not let them get away with any crimes committed inside the Capital Beltway."

"What proof do you have on any of this?" I asked.

## Picasso Portrait Sold at Auction

PARIS — An unidentified foreign buyer bought a Picasso canvas, "Le Portrait de Madame H. P.," at auction for more than 20 million francs (\$3.7 million).

The work, dated from 1952 and depicts Hélène Parmelin, the wife of the painter Edouard Pignon.

The oil-on-plywood painting was given by Picasso to his colleague for his 50th birthday.

"We have a sample of DNA from Teddy Kennedy's stomach."

"That could be very damaging," I admitted.

The prosecutor said, "I have no problem proving that Clinton was driving a white Bronco when he campaigned for Mario Cuomo in New York."

"That's all Alfonse D'Amato needs," I told him.

"This is the first time the Republican Party seems so vindictive about punishing the opposition. After all, the GOP won — shouldn't they be happy?"

"You don't forgive Democrats who voted in favor of abortion rights, Head Start and higher taxes for the upper-income brackets. If the Republicans looked the other way, the Dems could challenge us in 1996. The best thing is to cut off their heads — even if it means borrowing a guillotine from France."

"I know this is a silly question, but if the GOP spends so much time avenging themselves against the Democrats, how will they fulfill their 'contract with America'?"

"We'll sequester both houses until the Republican committee finds the Democrats guilty. The voters don't care about new legislation — they want to see the GOP burn down the White House."

"Besides the political rhetoric of the campaign, what other evidence do you have that the Democrats have committed crimes in the same league as Nuremberg?"

"Newt Gingrich found a glove on the White House lawn that could have been dropped there on Election Day. If D'Amato can prove that it belongs to Hillary Clinton, his case against Whitewater will be clinched."

## The Anatomy of a Suicide Haunts Oxford

By John Darnton  
New York Times Service

LONDON — The sentence could have been written by Edgar Allan Poe or Fyodor Dostoyevsky, the way it summons the unspeakable in a coldly confessional tone: "But it was clear to me by now that Trevor and the college must somehow be separated. My problem was one which I feel compelled to define with brutal candor: how to kill him without getting into trouble."

The words were not written by a poet trawling the depths of the subconscious, and they are not fiction. They are from a newly published autobiography of Sir Kenneth Dover, one of the world's most renowned classicists. And they describe a series of events that preceded the suicide of a troublesome colleague at Oxford nine years ago.

How much responsibility — if any — Sir Kenneth bears for the death of Trevor Aston, a brilliant but erratic historian, is a matter of public debate now that Sir Kenneth's unconventional autobiography, "Marginal Comment," has hit the bookstores. Excerpts were carried in Sunday's British newspapers.

The chapter dealing with Aston's suicide from pills and alcohol in October 1985 at the age of 60 stands as a modern morality tale. Some see it as the story of Sir Kenneth, who was the president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, defending his ancient and beloved institution by dealing firmly with a don who had become unmanageable because of alcoholism and mental illness.

Others see it as a case in which the president — fed up with all the problems and aware of the don's despondency and a recent suicide attempt — pushed him to the brink by writing a letter expressing the college's disapproval of Aston's conduct at a time when his marriage was collapsing and he was particularly vulnerable.

Even those closely involved in the problems Aston was causing admit to being shocked by the icy detachment of the language and, apparently, the feelings of Sir Kenneth, a scholar whose works on ancient Greece are read by students throughout the



Sir Kenneth Dover's autobiography has shocked many colleagues.

world. He has retired and is now 74, and lives in Fife, Scotland.

"The intellectual normally values reason above all," said James Howard-Johnston, a lecturer in Byzantine studies at Corpus Christi. "Dover demonstrates that reason divorced from emotion becomes cold, clinical, and amoral."

The author admits to being aware of Aston's long and troubled psychiatric history. He admits to fantasizing about Aston's death, consulting a lawyer to see if he would be legally at risk if he ignored a suicide call, and not going to investigate Aston's room at the college after a colleague expressed concern the night Aston died. Sir Kenneth also admits to a disturbing sense of relief the day afterward.

"The next day I got up from a long, sound sleep and looked out of the window across the fellows' garden," he wrote. "I cannot say for sure that the sun was shining, but I certainly felt it was. I said to myself, slowly, 'Day One of Year One of the Post-Astonian Era.' For a little while, I even regretted my decision to retire the following year."

Aston, a fellow of the college who began teaching there in 1952, showed promise for a distinguished career. He was college librarian, university archivist, editor of the official history of Oxford University, and editor of a journal, Past and Present.

"He was a central figure in the life of the college throughout the '70s and '80s," said Howard-Johnston. "He didn't publish enough to be a great historian, but he could match any of them in conversation. He was a strong personality, a daunting figure." But then problems began with mood swings and with drinking.

To Sir Kenneth, who was president of Corpus Christi for 10 years beginning in 1978 — and to others there — Aston was a pest and an embarrassment. There were squabbles over his bawling, threats of lawsuits, disrupted meetings and drunken scenes at "high table," the nightly dining ritual at Oxford colleges. "We could not have him lurking around the quad in front of the undergraduates or using violent language in the hearing of guests or visitors," Sir Kenneth wrote.

"I'm 100 percent behind Kenneth,"

said Brian Harrison, a history fellow and tutor at the college. "It's astonishing he bore it all those years. Even knowing that Aston was a manic depressive, you can't hold up the operations of a college with 300 people in it. For Dover to say he wanted Trevor dead — well, it's like Henry II with Becket. You say, 'Goodness, will no one rid me of this man?' and the knights went off and did it."

In his account of his behavior toward Aston, Sir Kenneth uses the word "conscience" only when he is fantasizing about what would happen if he rejected a plea for help from Aston in the throes of an overdose and in wondering what he would tell the authorities. "I had no qualms about causing the death of a fellow from whose nonexistence the college would benefit, but I balked at the prospect of misleading a coroner's jury," he wrote.

Sir Kenneth sent Aston a chiding letter, and, in a final confrontation, informed him that a decision some time earlier to renew his seven-year fellowship was not unanimous but had squeaked through by a slim margin. Aston was upset and shouted: "You're trying to push me out of the college!" Sir Kenneth wrote that he did not deny it.

A few days later, on the night of Oct. 15, Sir Kenneth was telephoned by a friend who was concerned by Aston's behavior and warned that he might be contemplating suicide. The college president telephoned Aston's doctor, but the two of them decided to take no action.

In a telephone interview, Sir Kenneth contended that it was a notice of impending divorce proceedings from his second wife that drove Aston to suicide, not anything Sir Kenneth had done. "It wasn't I who resolved it," he insisted. "What I said in the book was that I contemplated the possibility of causing his death by an act of omission. But that wasn't in fact how things turned out."

The moral, he said, is that "there is a dilemma when one is weighing the duty of compassion to an individual with the well-being of an institution." And he said he was surprised at "all the fuss" his book has created. "The whole point of an autobiography is to tell the truth, as far as I'm concerned."

## PEOPLE

## Italian Film Is Winner

At European Awards  
"Lamerica," directed by Gianni Amelio of Italy, won the 1994 European Film Academy's Felix award for best movie, and Amelio won the best director award for the third time at a ceremony in Berlin. The French director Robert Bresson was honored for his life work. The Felix awards began seven years ago as the European answer to the Academy Awards.

Descendants of the 17th-century physicist Sir Isaac Newton are criticizing former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, now a baroness, for including the scientist on her new coat of arms. Richard Newton, a retired gamekeeper who is the family's senior surviving member, told the Sunday Times, "It's a damned cheek and very vulgar."

The Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa was awarded the 1994 Cervantes prize for literature on Monday, Spain's highest literary award. Vargas Llosa, internationally renowned for dozens of novels, essays and plays, won the prize over a list of candidates that included the Spanish Nobel Prize winner Camilo José Cela and the Chilean writer José Donoso. . . . The French Development Agency awarded its Tropics literary prize to Catherine Beyerla, a Cameroonian writer, for "Assèze l'Africaine" (Assèze, the African woman) which tells the story of a young Cameroonian woman's problems moving from her home country to clandestine lodgings in the crowded outskirts of Paris.

The first Beatles record ever played on radio fetched £11,000 (\$17,200), at auction in London at Bonham's. The disk of "Love Me Do," played by Radio Luxembourg in 1963, was a demo copy signed by Paul McCartney whose name was spelled "McArtny" on the label.

## WEATHER

Europe									
	Today	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
Algeria	18/24	12/23	10/16	10/20	8/14	10/16	10/20	8/14	10/16
Amsterdam	10/15	14/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Athens	14/14	14/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Berlin	10/13	14/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Bombay	17/22	10/10	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Buenos Aires	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Calcutta	14/14	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Cairo	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Chennai	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Copenhagen	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Dublin	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Edinburgh	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Geneva	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Hamburg	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Heidelberg	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
London	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Madrid	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Moscow	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Munich	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Nairobi	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Paris	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Rome	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Stockholm	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Switzerland	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Toronto	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Washington	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10
Yokohama	11/22	12/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10	10/10	7/14	8/10

## The Czech Artists' Boxes That Came In Out of the Cold

By William Grimes  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In 1984, when the hand of government censorship lay heavy on art in Czechoslovakia, Jiska Skalnik, a graphic designer and longtime troublemaker, came up with a very Czech idea.

If unofficial artists could not exhibit, why not create an unofficial salon? The work could not be exhibited, of course. But it would exist, and its mere existence would be intensely annoying to the nation's cultural overlords.

Skalnik invited each of about 300 artists to accept delivery of a lidless wooden box 6 inches square and 2 inches deep. The assignment was to create a work of art within the box. The completed work was to be returned to Skalnik.

In all, 244 artists took part in what Skalnik called the Minimalist. The boxes were collected, then hidden in a shed outside Prague. There they remained until 1989, when the Velvet Revolution brought down the Communist regime.

The boxes, which have been exhibited at the World Financial Center as part of its Celebrate Prague in New York festival, suggest that the old regime's hope of getting artists to march in step was a doomed enterprise. Within the uniformity imposed by the box format, the artists created works of startling variety.

Marie Blabolilova painted hers white and placed a row of tan rushes in glass tubes inside it. Bedrich Dlouhy painted a gray, empty room, and placed an actual dead fly on a tiny chair. The fly gazes at a drum set and a huge piece of meat on a hook.

Kurt Gebauer transformed his box into a rabbit hutch filled to capacity with a fat cotton bunny, one ear forlornly sticking out through the chicken wire of the cage door.

Jiri Stamefost took tiny dolls and created a frightening tableau: four figures running down a flight of stairs and up against a blank wall. "Jiska said he wanted to create a collection that documented a certain moment," said Charlotta Kotik, the curator of contemporary art at the Brooklyn Museum and an organizer of Celebrate

Prague in New York. "He was ingenious because the boxes prevented overpowering egos from taking over the whole project."

Margita Titlova, who is working in New York on a grant, said that her impulse was to fight against the box, which suggested confinement and repression to her.

"I felt I had to change it, rather than create something in it," she said. "I made a fire out in the countryside and placed the box on it upside down." The fire burned a hole in the back of the box about the size of a quarter, and left the inside charred. "The fire is like revolutionary action," said Titlova, who had not seen her box since 1984.

Vladimir Kokolia, too, was seeing his for the first time in 10 years. On a recent visit to the exhibition, he stepped up to his box, reached forward and began riffling the pages of a flip-book of drawings contained within the wooden frame. A guard intervened. "Sir, you cannot touch the artwork," he warned. Kokolia smiled benignly. "It's O.K., I am the artist," he said. "Actually, I wish everyone would touch it."

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